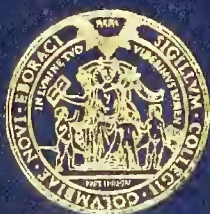
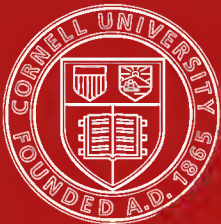


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School drama.



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THE SCHOOL DRAMA

INCLUDING

PALSGRAVE'S INTRODUCTION TO ACOLASTUS

BY

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
CHAPTER I. THE SCHOOL DRAMA	7
CHAPTER II. THE SCHOOL DRAMA IN ENGLAND	17
CHAPTER III. THE SCHOOL DRAMA AND THE ELIZABETHAN DRAMA	36
CHAPTER IV. THE SCHOOL DRAMA IN GERMANY	48
CHAPTER V. THE JESUIT SCHOOL DRAMA	68
CHAPTER VI. ACOLASTUS	77
APPENDIX. PALSgrave's INTRODUCTION TO ACOLASTUS	106
INDEX	113

P R E F A C E

This study is the result of the suggestion and inspiration of Professor Paul Monroe, of Teachers College, to whom, were it worthier, it would be dedicated. The author is also indebted to Professor Ashley H. Thorndike and Librarian William D. Johnston, of Columbia, to Professors Chauncey B. Tinker and William Lyon Phelps, of Yale, who first awoke a desire for further study in English, to President William DeWitt Hyde, of Bowdoin, whose kindness made possible the absence from the Bowdoin Faculty during which the study was begun, and to numerous fellow students and colleagues.

The author is, doubtless, more conscious than the reader, of the faults and incompleteness of this study. Although many fields of English Literature have been studied exhaustively, almost nothing has been written in English upon the School Drama. Further study is needed, in particular, upon the relations between the boy companies and the School Drama, the educational aspect of the University Plays, the Prodigal Son theme in English dramas and the English plays of student life; the author hopes later to do more work on these, and similar topics; he welcomes other investigators in this untrodden field. Meanwhile, this study is presented as an introduction to the whole topic. J. L. McC.

May fifteen, Nineteen Thirteen,
Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine.

CHAPTER I

THE SCHOOL DRAMA

The School Drama is that dramatic activity which had a definite educational aim; it includes both the writing and acting of plays. In the early period this use of dramatic works for pedagogical purposes was probably an unconscious method of teaching; at its height it was clearly recognized as a means to an end; while today the educational value of our school dramatics is largely neglected, and, in practice, the School Drama hardly exists. In theory, many today urge its use; this study may suggest an historical basis for their recommendation. Although most influential during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, evidences of the pedagogical use of the drama can be found throughout nearly all the history of education. Its chief activity and most loyal supporters were found in England and Germany, but many other countries of Europe made some use of it. The reason for its existence changed as educational methods advanced; its aims were diverse and changing. In addition to its educational importance, it was influential in the dramatic history of England and Germany, and the Elizabethan drama owes it a decided debt. All in all, the School Drama presents an interesting and, it is hoped, a profitable subject for study.

No nation has ever more fully recognized the value of the drama—*aesthetic, religious and educational*—than the Greeks. The Greek youths recited Homer in their schools;¹ they witnessed—if necessary at the State's expense—the plays of Sophocles, Euripides and Aeschylus; they were taught that oratory was the goal of education, and accordingly were trained for it. These and other poetic dramas furnished much of the material for the schools. In *The Republic* Plato discusses and condemns these plays for the very objection which was later raised against the School Drama, their immoral influences.² Likewise the Romans made use of the drama for educational purposes; Livius Andronicus, the Greek whose broken leg meant so much for Roman education, translated the Greek dramas, which, says Wil-

¹ *Cyclopedia of Education*, ii., 361.

² Book iii., 68-82, (Jowett ed., 1888).

kins, became important as texts for school room use.³ In the Dark Ages all education waned, and for centuries little attention was paid to the educational value of the drama. True, some of the Church Fathers wrote "adages" in the form of recitations, thus recognizing the value of the expressional side of education. Ausonius, a fourth century teacher, composed the *Ludus Septem Sapientum*, ("Play of the Seven Wise Men"), which Hoole elaborated in his text books some twelve centuries later. These, however, were probably all used simply as material for classroom work; there is no evidence that there were dramatic performances in the schools until the tenth century, when Hrotsvitha, the Benedictine abbess of Gandersheim, in Saxony, wrote comedies in Terentian form, which were probably performed in her convent school.⁴ Dr. Ward considered it probable that religious plays were presented in the English convent schools in the twelfth century; in 1110 a play in honor of St. Catherine was acted by scholars at Dunstable, and there are scattered references to these Saints' plays down to the fifteenth century.⁵ Probably the earliest contemporary evidence of the School Drama is found in the account of the play of St. Catherine, referred to above, which was produced by a school teacher at Dunstable with the aid of vestments for costumes, loaned by the sacrist of St. Albans.⁶ Warton mentions a play by school boys in 1392, and one by choir boys in 1487,⁷ and Chambers sums the whole matter up by stating that "it is probable that in schools the habit of reciting verse, and verse dialogue, had never died out since the time of the Empire."⁸

Whether the performances during the Middle Ages were in Latin or not we cannot definitely tell; certainly from the middle of the fifteenth until well into the sixteenth centuries, practically all School Dramas were in Latin. The reason for this is very evident—the School Drama became a means of teaching Latin; the School Drama for the older pupils and the colloquy for the elementary classes were the chief methods of transforming boys into "little Latins." Latin was the language of the Church, the State, all professions and literature; the aim of education must, accordingly, be to give all an abso-

³ *Roman Education*, 21, 25.

⁴ *Cambridge History of English Literature*, v., 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁶ Leach, *Educational Charters*, 78-79.

⁷ Warton, *History of English Poetry*, iii., 308, 310.

⁸ Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, ii., 212.

lute mastery of it, so that the pupils might read, talk and write Latin. Hence conversation or dialogue was an important means. The comedies of Terence and Plautus had recently become popular; they furnished much better material for use than did Cicero or the poets; hence they became the chief subjects of study for the school boy; they were dramatic—why not act them as well as study them? Recitation had always been a part of education, and accordingly these Latin comedies were first recited by one boy while another acted in pantomime; gradually parts were assigned, and the dramatic side of the work increased. Objections soon arose to Plautus and Terence and the schoolmen forthwith began to write neo-Latin plays modeled on these Roman authors, but better adapted for school use. Chief among these is Gnapheus' *Acolastus*. Such, in brief, is the history of the Latin School Drama, extending from about 1475 on for over a century, gradually developing, as an offshoot, a vernacular School Drama (Udall's *Ralph Roister Doister*, the first English comedy) and finally, when Latin lost its hold, slowly waning, until today the Westminster Latin Play alone remains.

Anyone familiar with educational history demands no proof of the importance of Latin in the schools at the time of the Renaissance. Baker-Penoyre says that the first Latin plays were the "natural result of the omnipresence of the Latin language."⁹ Hoole wrote, even later when Latin was losing its importance, that "speaking Latin is the main end of grammar study." The founder of Christ's College, Cambridge, demanded that its scholars learn Latin because of its necessity in practical life.¹⁰ The Bishop of Exeter abused the schoolmasters under him who paid any attention to teaching the vernacular, and the great men of the age preferred Latin names to their good vernacular originals—Morus for More, Camdenus for Camden, Fulonius for de Volder and so on. Elyot had to defend the use of English in his *Governour*, and Mulcaster, although he permitted English to be taught at Merchant-Tailors', urged in his *Defense of Good Women*, that all girls should be able to speak Latin before they were twenty.¹¹ The choir boys had to know Latin, for all the church service, perhaps even the sermon, was in Latin. Boys, like Montaigne, were often taught Latin at home before learning to speak the vernacular; it was the universal language which made it possible for Eras-

⁹ *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, ii., 320.

¹⁰ Mullinger, *History of Cambridge*, 126.

¹¹ Page Eiiii of MS. in British Museum.

mus from Holland and Vives from Spain to feel "at home" in any land; Watson calls it not the goal, but the starting point of study. He gives an interesting collection of Grammar School statutes which require that all scholars always speak Latin when at school, upon pain of punishment.¹² To enforce this rule "custodes" were appointed, who were "it" until they caught another boy using English, when he became the victim.¹³ Latin speech, accordingly, was the chief aim of the schools.¹⁴ Sixteenth century teachers soon learned what modern language teachers are now emphasizing, that the best way to learn to speak a language is to actually speak it. Accordingly they ceased to consider Cicero as the most important Latin writer, and turned to Plautus and Terence instead. Sargeaunt says: "As Latin was not merely an instrument of education, but the medium through which all knowledge was to be acquired, it must be known colloquially, and to be known colloquially it must be studied in the comedians."¹⁵ These furnished a model of spoken Latin rather than the Latin of the orator or poet; they afforded training in exactly the kind and style of Latin speech which was then in demand. Vives said that Terence was "of importance for daily conversation;" Erasmus recommended that Terence be learned by heart, and that Latin be taught by the daily use of Terence and by selections from Plautus.¹⁶ When a Latin play is studied with the aim of developing the Latin speech of the scholar, the most natural way to accomplish this is to actually perform it; the Latin is then spoken, and the phrases learned by heart for future use. The school room use of Plautus and Terence, accordingly, is one of the chief reasons for the great importance of the Latin School Drama. Later chapters will consider the relation of Terence and Plautus to the Elizabethan drama and the German drama, and the use of their comedies by the Jesuits.

Neo-Latin plays were soon written, largely by schoolmen, to supplant Terence and Plautus as School Dramas. Objections to the morality of these old Roman humorists, and a desire to introduce other material,—such as, in Gnapheus' case, the story of the Prodigal Son,—led to a large number of imitations and adaptations of the

¹² Watson, *English Grammar Schools to 1660*, 316-318.

¹³ Maxwell-Lyte, *Eton*, 147.

¹⁴ Consult Strong, *History of Secondary Education in England*, 41, 45, 46, 49, 139n.

¹⁵ *Annals of Westminster School*, 48.

¹⁶ Woodward, *Erasmus*, 112, 80, 163.

classic dramas. In chapters III and IV reference will be made to the most significant neo-Latin School Dramas in England and Germany. It must not be imagined, however, that the Latin School Drama was confined to these two countries. Symonds, writing of Italy, says: "Toward the close of the fifteenth century it was common to recite plays of Plautus and Terence in Latin."¹⁷ Holland was, in many ways, the home of the School Drama; Erasmus, one of the chief supporters, came from there, as did Gnapheus, perhaps the most significant of the neo-Latin School Dramatists; Ascham writes of the interest in the Drama in Antwerp;¹⁸ the Acts of the Dutch Synods refer to the use of Latin plays in the schools under the Synod's care;¹⁹ in the history of the Academy at Lyden there is an account of plays performed there during the sixteenth century.²⁰ In France, two authors of neo-Latin School Dramas deserve mention. In the late fifteenth century Ravius Textor, professor of rhetoric at the College of Navarre, Paris, and also rector of the University, wrote Latin dialogues for his students to act; one was acted at Cambridge in 1543, and there are evidences of the extensive use of Textor in England.²¹ Two of his farces had considerable influence upon the Elizabethan drama; his *Thersites* was adapted into an English version by 1537, and another dialogue was the source for Ingeland's *The Disobedient Child*; still a third is significant as the source for an early English play on the Prodigal Son,²² of interest to any student of Gnapheus' *Acolastus*.²³ Textor is considered to be the first continental playwright to influence the English stage; this influence came through his School Plays.²⁴ George Buchanan, a famous Scotch historian and dramatist—(whose most popular composition, probably, is the phrase which he coined "A fool and his money are soon parted")—was driven to France by religious persecution in 1539. As professor of Latin at the College of Bordeaux he recognized the value of teaching Latin by the use of the drama, and he therefore wrote four neo-Latin School Dramas for his pupils to act. Two are merely adaptations of Euripedes; but *Jephthes*, a work showing considerable dramatic art,

¹⁷ *Short History of the Renaissance in Italy*, 263.

¹⁸ Raché, *Die Deutsche Schulkomödie*, 15.

¹⁹ Knottel, *Acta*, vi., 8.

²⁰ Schotel, *De Academie Leiden*, 321.

²¹ *Cambridge History of English Literature*, v., 121; Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, ii., 137.

²² *Malone Society Collections*, i., 27-30, ii., 106-7.

²³ See Ch. vi.

²⁴ Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, ii., 193.

is the first classical tragedy written north of the Alps.²⁵ With the *Baptistes* it helped to inaugurate the idea of treating Biblical material in Senecan style.²⁶

A point of particular interest in the relation of Buchanan to the School Drama is found in the praise accorded him by Montaigne, one of his pupils at Bordeaux.²⁷ The French essayist refers most warmly to his old teacher, and tells of taking part in Buchanan's School Dramas, with both pleasure and profit; he considers his teacher to have been one of the best Latin poets of the time. The history of the School Drama should include references to the many famous men who have taken part in it; lack of space here forbids, but mention should be made of the fact that Oliver Cromwell when a school boy at Huntingdon played the part of Tactus, the sense of feeling, in a School Drama on the *Five Senses*. The authority for this statement, his early biographer Heath, adds that such plays were "generally the custom in all great free schools."

For over a century the chief aim of the School Drama was to teach Latin, hence, of course, the dramas used by the schools were in Latin; either those of Terence or Plautus or the many neo-Latin dramatists. Gradually, however, Latin ceased to be the most important language for education; the Reformation brought in more appreciation of the vernacular, French superseded Latin as the international language, and there developed literatures in English, French and German. Latin-speaking was no longer the chief aim of education, and consequently, although the Latin School Drama was still important in the humanistic and conservative institutions, the School Drama would probably have ended in the seventeenth century if new aims for it had not been discovered. Udall, by some chance stroke of genius which thus gave birth to the Elizabethan drama, wrote a Christmas Play at Eton in English instead of Latin; in a few decades nearly all School Dramas in England, and, later, in Germany, were in the vernacular. But Udall and the schoolmasters discovered that when the School Drama no longer gave facility in Latin speech, it might give training in the English tongue. Lord Bacon well sums up the aims of the vernacular School Drama as being the development of the memory, voice, good pronunciation, decent carriage of the body, gesture, and assurance. As the Latin School Drama waned when Latin

²⁵ *Cambridge History of English Literature*, v., 34; Thorndike, *Tragedy*, 39.

²⁶ Herford, *Literary Relations of England and Germany*, 98, 114.

²⁷ *Essays*, i., 215, (Hazlitt ed.); Jusserand, *Shakspeare en France*, 6.

lost its importance, these other more modern aims superseded the old ones and continued the career of the School Drama for two centuries or more. These oratorical and eleutionary aims were most significant in England; the aims of the German School Drama were quite different. There the religious motive was felt, and the School Drama, in either Latin or German, was used to teach a moral lesson to the scholars by vividly showing them the fall of vice and the triumph of virtue. The School Drama became more popularized in Germany, and appealed to the masses as religious spectacles. Educators also recognized its value as a means of interesting their pupils. In some districts in Germany where admission fees were charged the School Drama served to raise part of the teacher's salary. Schmidt sums up the aims of the School Drama as follows: to gain a mastery of the Latin language, to develop the pupil's oratorical powers, to vividly picture moral truths, to interest pupils, parents and townspeople, to help pay the teacher's salary and sometimes to develop a knowledge and love of the dramatic arts.²⁸ These varied aims appeared at different times during the history of the School Drama and in different countries; only the Jesuits continued to strive exclusively for ability in Latin-speaking from the use of the School Drama; all other schools found some better, more modern aim by which to justify its existence.

Although less dramatic than the School Drama, the colloquy served for beginners much the same purpose that Plautus and Terence and neo-Latin and vernacular School Dramas did for the more advanced pupils. The aim of all was the same—to train in conversational Latin, and the methods were much alike. Mosellanus refers to the colloquies as "little scenes" by which the pupil may be prepared in good Latin for the use of Terence. Those who used the colloquies were termed "young actors." Oral instruction was supreme in the schools of that age, and the youthful pupil who was to learn to speak Latin was instructed orally by actual training in speaking simple Latin phrases. These phrases and questions for pupil and teacher on familiar subjects, formed the material for the colloquy with which Latin instruction nearly always began. The colloquy as an educational device extends over many centuries, and enlisted as authors such men as Erasmus, Mosellanus, Vives, and Corderius. One of the early Renaissance colloquies refers to the truth that "things are more faithfully retained if they are explained in the form of dialogue." Erasmus refers to his famous colloquies as "conversations." Centuries ago the mod-

²⁸ Schmidt, *Die Bühnenverhältnisse des deutschen Schul dramas*, 19.

ern ideas of direct language teaching by the conversational method,—now so popular in French and German, and, also, with Dr. Rouse of Cambridge, in Latin instruction,—had already been begun. At that time all of a pupil's training in Latin included the dramatic, either in the conversational dialogues, called colloquies, or the dramatic recitations, termed School Dramas. Added interest was given to the colloquies by the subjects they discussed, nearly all of which were common to the pupil's experience; they serve as interesting commentaries on the school life of the time.

The School Drama is sometimes taken to mean those plays which are upon school-life; this definition is surely too narrow. During the sixteenth century there were many such plays, from Rastell's interlude of *The Nature of the Four Elements* to Hawkins' *Apollo Shroving*; these, however, are apart from our study.²⁹ Still another limited definition is to make the School Drama apply to the plays, of which there are many strange examples, which attempted to put text books in dramatic form. The early "adages" were works of this sort; in 1678 Samuel Shaw wrote a dramatized rhetoric, and in 1737 John Holmes had his "Gentlemen of the Publick Grammar School at Holt in Norfolk" perform a *History of England*.³⁰ The most interesting attempt to dramatize school studies, however, is the little known work of John Amos Comenius, the *Schola Ludus*, or dramatized *Janua* ("Gate of Tongues Unlocked"). No English edition of this work is known, and little attention has been paid to it, although Comenius seems to have considered the dramatic method of teaching nearly equal to the pictorial, which he had just before followed in his *Orbis Pictus*. Although, as he tells us in the preface, the *Ludus* failed at his school at Patak, it proved very successful elsewhere, and was enjoyed by the pupils who took part and by the parents who witnessed it. This preface was written for the second edition, published at Amsterdam, 1657, for which Comenius revised the text of the play. His aim, he says, is to interest the boys, and teach them good Latin in place of the prevalent "barbarous Latinity." Believing that school work should be made pleasant, this appealed to him as one means. The School Drama he declares should be used in every stage of school work, but great care must be taken to avoid immoral plays. The dedi-

²⁹ Consult Schmidt, *Die Komödien vom Studentenleben*; Herford, *Literary Relations of Germany and England*, 155-164; Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, i., 63-66.

³⁰ *Cyclopedia of Education*, ii., 365.

had been given before the Princess and court of Hungary. This seems hard to believe when one tries to read the play; there are five acts, twenty-one scenes, and fifty-four characters, such as Water, Hand, Foot, Geographer and so forth. No more severe punishment could be imagined today than performing or witnessing this play! Comenius had good ideas about the construction of school plays; he wrote: "Put edifying matter into school plays. There are seven conditions to be satisfied in a school play. There must be movement, spontaneity, sociability, friendly emulation, distinct rules, good example, and relaxation of mind." Like many others, in this at least, Comenius preached better than he practiced. He also dramatized the history of the philosophers in a School Drama called *Diogenes Cynicus*. Daniel G. Morhof, writing soon after Comenius' School Dramas appeared, refers to the way "schooling can be advanced by the acting of plays."³¹

Although the School Drama, with a few exceptions, had ended by 1700, we catch sight of it occasionally even after that. Some of the great English public schools, notably Winchester, continued their School Plays. *The Spectator* in 1711, refers to the fact that school boys "sometimes join in acting a scene of Terence, Sophocles, or our own Shakespeare."³² The Jesuit Drama continues today, and visitors to the College at Montreal may witness humanistic presentations of the Latin School Drama that would have pleased any of its sixteenth century advocates. There is also evidence that modern educators are beginning to realize, as their predecessors did centuries ago, that representation by acting is perhaps the surest way to fix words or actions or moral examples in the memory. "Drama" really means action (ΔΡΑΜΑ). Both the play impulse and the expressive side of modern education indicate that more pedagogic value may be found in school dramatics than the average teacher discovers in them. The girls' school in Boston which has successfully performed Elizabethan comedies and modern morality plays, and the Children's Theatre in New York are indications of what may become a general educational practice.³³ Bernard Shaw says that the success of the theatre is due to the arousal of interest, the captivating of attention, the raising of the sympathies, and the annihilation of selfishness; these surely are

³¹ Consult German edition, *Die Schule als Spiel*; *Cyclopedia of Education*, ii., 138, 365; Graves, *Great Educators*, 31; Laurie, *Comenius*, 24-25, 194, 206.

³² *The Spectator*, 230, (Morley ed.).

³³ *The Outlook*, xcvi, 658.

worthy educational aims, which the use of the drama in our schools may help to accomplish. The history of the School Drama indicates that it served as a most important educational method for over two centuries, that it aided religion, formed part of the basis of the English and German dramas, and furnished new material, such as the Prodigal Son plays, and new authors and actors for these dramas. Should not an educational institution so prominent in past history, occupy a position of some importance today?

CHAPTER II

THE SCHOOL DRAMA IN ENGLAND

In the previous chapter reference has been made to the popularity of the School Drama in England, where evidences of it can be traced back to the Middle Ages, and where, at one time, probably nearly every school used it as an educational device. Although the School Drama doubtless attained a like importance in Germany, our evidence for it is not as convincing. The educational history of the two lands presents many differences, and the School Drama, which greatly influenced both England and Germany in the sixteenth centuries, left very different effects and influences upon their educational aims and practices. Germany was soon torn asunder by the Reformation, and its whole educational system shattered, to be reorganized and rebuilt very slowly. The School Drama there became the tool of the reformers, and merged into the polemic drama which, coming from men like Kirchmayer, reflects little credit on German taste and patriotism. Education in Germany was popularized; except in the centers of humanism, Latin lost much of its importance, and vernacular plays suited for the populace gradually replaced the works of Plautus and Terence and the neo-Latin dramatists. The School Drama in England developed along other lines; it was seized upon as an educational method in many prominent schools, which, unlike German schools, present a continued history down to modern times; the educational theorists of the time commented upon the value of the School Drama; it had no relation to the Reformation in England, which was more of a state affair, but did profoundly influence the rise and development of the English drama, by furnishing to it models and authors and actors. Accordingly, the importance of the School Drama in England can best be realized by considering the use which was made of it in the great English Public Schools, around which the education of the time centered; by discovering the attitude toward it held by the important English educational theorists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and, in chapter III, by showing its relation to the Elizabethan drama. The nine great Public Schools, because of the lack of any important change in their curricula and the extensive histories which

have been written concerning them, present the best examples of the use of the School Drama in English schools. However it must not be thought that the School Drama was unknown in the hundreds of Grammar Schools; where our records are complete, there are evidences of almost as much use of the comedies of Plautus and Terence as in the so called Public Schools. Says one writer: "In the days of Elizabeth the Annual Play was no special mark of the School (Westminster), for acting was generally regarded as a part of education: perhaps there was no school which did not put on frequent dramas of Plautus and Terence, and the dull Latin comedies of the age."¹ Chambers and Fleay comment similarly upon the extensive use of the School Drama in the English Grammar Schools. Carlisle, in his work on the *Endowed Grammar Schools*, refers to many which show evidences of having School Plays; the Grammar School at Reading, for example, was to have a special performance every third year, to which three noted visitors were to be invited according to the school Statute,—the Vice Chancellor of Oxford, the President of St. John's and the Warden of All Soul's Church.² The *Statutes* for the Grammar School at Sandwich directed "at every Christmas time, if the Master do think mete, to have one comedie or tragedie of chaste matter in Latin to be played, the partes to be divided to as many scholars as may be, and to be learned at vacant time."³ Froude refers to the performance of a School Play in the school at Greenwich, as early as 1527.⁴ Wolsey, in his *Statutes* for the Ipswich School, recommended the use of plays to develop ability in Latin speaking,⁵ and the *Orders* for the Grammar School at Southwark directed that "the highest Form shall declaim and some of the inferior Forms act a scene of Terence."⁶ At Southampton the town, in 1576, paid the master of the Grammar School for a tragedy performed by his boys.⁷ The Scotch schools also made use of the School Drama.⁸ Watson sums up the extent of the use of the School Drama by stating that "play acting. was an established teaching method for Latin speaking in the well organized schools."

¹ Sargeant, *Annals of Westminster School*, 48.

² Carlisle, *Endowed Grammar Schools*, i., 37.

³ Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660*, 319.

⁴ Froude, *History*, i., 75.

⁵ Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 107.

⁶ Watson, 315.

⁷ Watson, 324.

⁸ Hutchinson, *The High School of Stirling*, 23.

The most famous School Play in England is at Westminster School, which still presents a play of Plautus or Terence annually on the second Tuesday in December and on the Monday preceding and following; it is the only School Play that has an unbroken history, even continuing through the Puritan times.⁹ Westminster alone contains a Charter provision for a School Play; this Charter, given by Elizabeth some years after the founding of the School, reads (translating the Latin): "As to Comedies and Plays to be shown at Christmas. That the youth may spend Christmastide with better result, and the better become accustomed to proper action and pronounciation, we decree that every year, within twelve days after Christmas day, or afterward with the leave of the Dean, the Master and Usher together shall cause their pupils and the choristers to act, in private or public, a Latin comedy or tragedy in Hall; and the choristers' Master, an English one. And if they do not each do their part the defaulter shall be fined 10 shillings."¹⁰ This Charter proviso closely resembles that given by Elizabeth for Trinity College, where the performance of Latin plays was required annually. A Westminster Latin Statute, of 1560, directs that "the boys shall never play without the leave of the Dean, or, in his absence, the vice regent and the Schoolminister, and then only in the afternoon." Dean Nowell, headmaster from 1543 to about 1554, was much interested in the acting of plays; he probably introduced Terence to the school, as it is said of him, that "when he was Master of Westminster School he brought in the reading of Terence for the better learning of the pure Roman style." He was followed by Nicholas Udall, who had already been connected with the School Drama during his headmastership at Eton.¹¹ Probably he added Greek to the Westminster curriculum. Some critics have believed that *Ralph Roister Doister* was written during his Westminster headmastership, but there is stronger evidence for the statement that it was a product of his career at Eton. Certainly he helped in developing and continuing the School Play at Westminster.

There is every reason to believe that the Westminster School Play had a definitely educational aim, unlike most modern school and college dramatics. The Play was selected and produced under the man-

⁹ On the Westminster Play consult: Sargeaunt, *Annals of Westminster School*; Ludus Aliteri Westmonastenenses; Forshall, *Westminster School, Past and Present*; Fleay, *Chronicle History of the London Stage*, 32.

¹⁰ Leach, *Educational Charters*, xlv., 518-9.

¹¹ Pg. 25.

agement of the faculty, who were fined if they neglected this part of their duty; was always in Latin; no stage tricks were allowed; and the boys gained ability in Latin speaking and in the graces of oratory. Many of Westminster's "sons" who have won her fame in public life have professed their deep obligation to the early training in the Play. The Play was, and still is, performed in Hall, rather than in an outside theatre; the dormitory was crowded with the eager audience who perched on boxes or window sills. In 1564 Elizabeth attended a performance of the Westminster Play; that year she contributed £8 toward the expenses of the St. Paul's Play and for "playes by the grammer skole of Westmyster." The expense account of this Play (the performance included a play of Terence and the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus) amounted to 59s. 9d., and includes many humorous items, and many of which have a surprising modern sound. Among the expense items are: sugar candy, cartage, dressing the "children," frankincense, rent of armour, and of a drum, writing "great letters" and "man going up and down in diverse places in London" (evidently advertising), beards and rushes, beer for the hoarse children, and a copy of Plautus as a gift to the Queen.¹²

The Westminster Charter provided for the performance of a Latin play by the regular scholars and of an English play by the choir boys. There were two elements in these great English Public Schools; regular pupils, and choir boys who took part in the church service and who were generally charity pupils from the town (of special importance during the period when the education was by priests, who also conducted the regular masses and services). For these two student bodies different plays were assigned, and consequently the history of the School Drama at any school soon becomes confused. The performances by St. Paul's School boys and the choir boys of St. Paul's are particularly hard to separate. At Westminster it seems universally true that the real School Play, by the scholars who lived in Hall, was always in Latin, and always given in Hall. As an outgrowth of the English play given by the school's choir boys came a town play, in English, not at the school, and sometimes enrolling actors who had no connection with the school. It was probably a company of Westminster choir boys that "took to the road" toward the end of the century, and appeared at Blackfriars in London, as one of the companies of child actors that received such abuse from Shakespeare and Jonson and other professional playwrights and actors.

¹² Scott, *Athenaeum*, 1903, 220.

Certainly it was the choir boys, or town students, who played Congreve's *Morning Bride* in 1717, and Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* in 1727 in the Haymarket Theatre; quite likely it was they who performed one of Dryden's plays in 1695. In modern times the choir boys have continued to present plays in English, aimed more for a popular audience.

Plautus and Terence still provide the material for the scholars' Westminster Play; even the *Eunuchus* and *Amphrto*, in spite of the protests against their immorality, are today acted by school boys at Westminster. At present a cycle of four plays is followed; Terence seems to be the most popular. In earlier times some of the neo-Latin plays were given; Gager's insufferably dull Latin comedies were presented there, perhaps because he probably was an alumnus of the school. Although we have no complete account of the titles of every performance, it seems clear that the Westminster School Play has been performed every year since Elizabeth's time, with six exceptions, when the death of King or of the headmaster made it necessary to omit the Play. When it was suggested, a few decades ago, that the Play be given up, the alumni and friends of the School made such strenuous objection that no such action was possible. They point with just pride to the importance of the Play in the past, to the great men who have been trained by it (Jonson and Booth as examples) and the educational value it has had and still retains. The performance of the School Play has become for Westminster almost as important an occasion as our Commencements; alumni throng back and the week is made a gala one. Since 1758 scenery has been used, and in 1839 the headmaster inaugurated the custom of using costumes appropriate to the period of the play; during the last century ladies were, for the first time, admitted to the audience. Among the spectators royalty are often included. Since 1704 a prologue and epilogue have been added to the Play; these have become increasingly important, and furnish the humor for the occasion; although delivered in classic Latin they discuss some modern question of school or national interest. Nearly all of these speeches have been preserved and they afford an amusing side light on the School's history. The modern Westminster Play demands much preparation; carpenters must build the stage in the Seniors' Houses, and prepare the scenery; Lower Formers must provide their boxes and corners from which perches they serve as "gallery gods;" the headmaster must approve the caste—and happy is the boy who is chosen for the part his father played before

him; the masters must coach the actors for many weary weeks; a band is engaged to furnish music;—and all in all, it is the grand event of the year. The expense of the Play amounts to about \$1500, which is met by passing a “cap” among the audience, and woe to the Prince of Wales or rich alumnus who does not do his share! Although the modern Westminster Play may be far removed from the sixteenth century School Drama, it still retains much of the early educational aim, and presents an interesting example of the survival of a once almost universal school practice.

At Winchester the School Drama was probably used as often as at Westminster in the sixteenth century, but the Puritan controversy drove the Play from the school, and it was not revived.¹³ The *Statutes* of 1550 direct that on Fridays the boys are to have no supper, but are to “read” a play of Terence. Christopher Johnson, once headmaster of the School, wrote a Latin poem about the customs and traditions at Winchester, one couplet of which may be translated:

“The comic scene is ready to a ‘t,’

By the poor reader there is seen no tea.”

That “reading” meant what we now call acting is evident from the fact that it was the custom to read these Latin dramas, and illustrate them with gestures and action, either by the reader himself or by some other scholar. By 1574, at least, the “reading” meant an actual performance of the play, for the Account Book for that year refers to the expense of moving the organ from the Chapel to the Hall for the Play, and gives the payments made for the scaffolding and candles used “for the plays of tragedies and comedies.” In 1583 the total expense of the Play was £3 3s. 10d.

St. Paul’s School was closely connected with the school for the choir boys of St. Paul’s Cathedral. Long before Colet’s foundation in 1510 we have evidence that the choristers at St. Paul’s were instructed by their Choir Master in the elementary branches, and were engaged in acting religious plays. The similar names, kindred aims and practices make it difficult to separate the history of the two schools, particularly where dramatic performances are concerned. Leaving, until later in the chapter, a discussion of the St. Paul’s choir boys and the drama, we can find many evidences of the use of the School Play at St. Paul’s School.¹⁴ While Colet makes no direct

¹³ Leach, *A History of Winchester School*.

¹⁴ McDonnell, *The History of St. Paul’s School*; Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, ii., 196; Froude, *History*, i., 75-76; *Cambridge History of English Literature*, v., 101.

reference to the Play, he lays stress on the use of conversational Latin, and training in manners, which served as the motives for School Drama. What is probably the earliest actual performance of a School Drama of which we now have record, was given by St. Paul scholars before Henry VIII in 1527. Their performance was under the direction of John Rightwise, son-in-law of William Lily, the first headmaster, whom he succeeded. Rightwise was more successful as a dramatist and manager than as a headmaster, and it was probably he who started the School Drama at St. Paul's. He probably wrote the masque, referred to above, which was acted by his students before Henry and the French Ambassador, in November, 1527, at Greenwich. This play was an attack on Luther, and is full of vituperative abuse of the "herrytyke Lewtar," who appeared on the stage dressed "lyke a frer, in rosset damaske." This is the first representation of an historical personage on the English stage. The king's expense account for the month indicates that Rightwise received 45s. for his services as author, manager and producer; 6s. was spent for the hire of six boats to carry the "children" down to Greenwich. In 1528 Rightwise had his pupils present *Phormio* before Wolsey and the Venetian Ambassador, who was surprised at the excellence of the performance; *Menaechimi* had been given by them earlier. In 1532, with Wolsey again as the special guest, they gave an original Latin play of Rightwise's, *Dido*, which, although now lost, may have served as a model for Gager's and Marlowe and Nash's later plays on this theme. A play on the Pope's captivity was given at court by Rightwise and his charges. Although Rightwise ended his headmastership under a cloud, he left behind him deserved fame as a dramatist and as one of the first school teacher-managers. During the headmastership of Richard Jones, St. Paul's scholars took part in the religious processions and masques connected with Anne Boleyn's marriage. Holinshed refers to the dramatic performances at St. Paul's School, and tells of one on St. Bartholomew's evening when three schools, St. Paul's, St. Anthony's, and Christ's Hospital, presented rival plays. In 1554 the scholars of St. Paul's acted before Queen Mary and Princess Elizabeth at Hatfield. By this time Terence had become a part of the curriculum, and his plays were "read" in the fifth form. Richard Mulcaster was made headmaster at the end of the century; he was already famous for the plays given by the Merchant-Taylors' School boys when he was headmaster there. During his career at St. Paul's the professional actor was gradually taking

the place of the choir boys, or school boys, for Court performances, but "Master Mulcaster's Children from St. Paul's" nevertheless appeared before the Queen occasionally; for example, his masque *Sapientia* was acted by them before her Court. In 1611 the scholars gave an English tragedy, *Abuses*, before James I, "in which the king took great delight." As is true of so many other School Plays, the Puritan epoch killed the St. Paul's Play, and few traces of it remain today.

Mulcaster made Merchant-Taylors' School famous for its School Plays, but, like many another educational reformer, he met with opposition to his ideas regarding the use of this educational device. At the beginning of his long headmastership he encouraged the use of the School Drama, and plays were frequent and well done.¹⁵ This high evaluation of the School Drama he doubtless gained when he was a pupil under Udall at Eton. One of his own scholars, Sir James Whitelocke, wrote that Mulcaster "yeerly presented some plays at the Court in which his scholars were the only actors, and I among them, and by that means taught them good behaviour and audacity."¹⁶ These Court performances pleased Elizabeth greatly, and she urged Mulcaster to continue, and give more plays than he had formerly, "for the better accustoming of the boys to correct action and elocution." The Merchant-Taylors' Company, however, objected, and in 1573 resolved "that no more plays be suffered to be played in this our Common Hall." Whether Mulcaster disobeyed this injunction is not known; at least he and his children appeared again in 1573, 1575, and 1583; in 1586 he had to resign the headmastership. Among his scholars at Merchant-Taylors' were the dramatists Lodge and Kyd, and the poet Spenser. For two hundred years no play was allowed at the school, and even when Garrick urged a performance in 1763, the Company still objected.

Eton generally claims the earliest School Drama, for there are evidences of performances in the School at Christmas time as early as 1525.¹⁷ The accounts for that year indicate that 10s. was paid for "ornaments for Christmas play." This play at Eton may have been

¹⁵ Wilson, *History of Merchant-Taylors' School*; Minchin, *Our Public Schools*, 185.

¹⁶ *Liber Famelicus*, Camden Society Reprint, 1858.

¹⁷ Cust, *A History of Eton*; Maxwell Lyte, *History of Eton College*; Sterry, *Annals of Eton College*; Collins, *Etoniana, Ancient and Modern*; Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, ii., 196.

an outgrowth of the Boy Bishop custom, by which a mock bishop was elected by the scholars before November 13. But the Play soon came to have an educational value, and Statute XXXI of the School approves of the custom. The headmaster was in charge of the play, and he was required each year to choose, by St. Andrew's Day (November 30), a Latin play which the boys were to act at Christmas time in the Hall. The performance was prepared very seriously, and a large part of December was devoted to memorizing parts, practicing delivery, and rehearsing. The costumes used by the players were kept by the headmaster; one inventory included "cassocks, of redde silke garded with blue, II women's cassocks of whyte silke, th' one ope before, th' other close, VI payer of showes." Occasionally the scholars appeared at Court. Thomas Cromwell gave headmaster "Woodall" (probably Udall) £5 for playing before him. Udall is the most important headmaster in Eton's early history.¹⁸ He did much to popularize Latin and improve the methods of teaching it; to this end he developed the Latin School Drama. His seven years headmastership, 1534-1541, were marked by a growth of the school, in spite of his reputation as a terrible flogger. Although he was expelled from his position, and thrown into prison for immorality, his friends at Court were able to free him, and gain for him the headmastership of Westminster, 1554-1556. Udall is less to be remembered for his teaching than for his writing; his Latin text books were much used, and his *Ralph Roister Doister* is the first real English comedy. Our knowledge of this is slight; some even doubt his authorship; but critics now incline to date this comedy as coming from his pen during the Eton headmastership, at least prior to 1551.¹⁹ It seems fair to assume that Udall conceived the brilliant idea of writing a comedy in English instead of Latin for the Christmas performance at Eton. Whether or not this epoch-making play was performed under Udall at Eton, at least the Eton School Play continued to be an important event of the year. The headmaster in 1560 wrote "the actor's art is a trifling one, but for action in oratory and proper gestures and the movements of the body, there is nothing like it." As the language changed from Latin to English, the School Drama could no longer serve its original purpose of training in conversational Latin, but it could still have an educational value as a training for oratory and

¹⁸ *Cyclopedia of Education*, v.

¹⁹ Hales argues for the Westminster period, *Englische Studien*, xviii, 408-21.

manners. The Audit Books for the school contain repeated evidence of the School Play:

1551—To Mr. Usher for interlude plaid in haule, 6s., 8d.

1553—Beards for players, 5s., 8d.

1556—For minstrelles and bringing apparel, 8s., 4d.

1558—To Mr. Schoolmaster for Play, 4s., 9d.

1566—Play, 20s.

1567—Two plays (special occasion), £3, 8s., 8d.

1569—Candles, 5s., 6d.

Latin and English plays have both been given, but since the Puritan opposition, the School Play at Eton has been only occasionally performed; there has been none since 1869. The headmaster has often wished that his graduates spoke as well as did the Westminster boys, whose superiority, he considered, came from their training in the School Play.

Shrewsbury School, which Camden refers to as the largest school in England, had a School Play which was of importance, and of which we have specially full contemporary accounts.²⁰ For decades it had probably been customary to present mysteries and moralities in the Quarry near the Severn. The St. Augustine Friars had used it for their mysteries, and town performances were common before the school was founded; in 1556 the Town Bailiff's Account states that a play on Julian the Apostate was given in the Quarry. This natural open air theatre may still be seen; although Churchyard implies that it was hollowed out for the purpose, he was probably in error, and it simply was the remains of an old quarry, which served as a suitable place for outdoor dramatic performances. Churchyard has thus described it in his *Worthies of Wales*:

"There is a ground neu made theator wyse
Both deepe and hye in goodlie auncient guise;
Where well may sit ten thousand men at ease,
And yet the one the other not displease.

.....
A ground most apt and they that sit above
At once in viewe all this may have for love;
At Aston's playe, who had beheld thys then
Might well have been there twentie thousand men."

²⁰ Fisher, *Annals of Shrewsbury School*; Anon., *History of Shrewsbury School*.

In his further description of the spot he says it was used for "wrestling, bull baiting, bear baiting, cock fighting and plays." Shakespeare probably visited Shrewsbury when "on the road" with his company, and doubtless played in this Quarry.²¹ This far-famed Quarry and the town performances in it drew Thomas Ashton to Shrewsbury, and in 1561 his play *The Passion of Christ* was given, and the Bailiffs entertained him royally. Dramatic opportunities certainly attracted him, for his taste and talents were in that line, and in 1562 he became the first headmaster of the newly-founded School. During the nine years he remained at Shrewsbury dramatic performances were both frequent and popular. The Bailiffs' Ordinance for 1577 directed that "everie thursdaie the Schollars of the first forme. . . . shall for exercise declame and plaie one acte of a comedie." Many of these were written by Ashton himself; his *Julian the Apostate* was repeated and seems to have gained much fame for the author and the school; Elizabeth, in her "progresses" for 1575, tried to get to Shrewsbury to see it, but sickness in a nearby town prevented. In 1566 again she had set out to witness the Shrewsbury School Play but she was detained at Coventry. The 1569 production was a notable one; Ashton's *Passion of Christ*, already popular, was performed before an audience numbering possibly 20,000; the town Corporation contributed £25, the Drapers' Company £5, and the Mercers' Company 30s. The accounts for this period contain many quaint items concerned with the play's expenses: "Paid for mending hell mouth, 2d.; for keeping fire in hell mouth, 4d.; for setting world on fire, 5d." Ashton's plays seem to have been numerous, resembling the form of the mystery; five manuscripts of his plays remain; all are in English, and they include *Noah*, *Histories of Lot and Abraham*, *Play of Shepherds* and *Slaughter of the Innocents*. When Ashton left, the interest in the School Drama waned; there are no records of any performance after 1610. However, during the height of its fame for dramatic productions, Shrewsbury furnished a majority of the famous actors at Cambridge, as did Westminster for the Oxford University Plays.

The school established by Ralph Radclif in the Carmelite Monastery at Hitchin no longer exists, but during Radclif's leadership it held an important place as an example of the pedagogic value of the School Drama; as his plays were in English, improvement in manners and delivery was his aim. Radclif converted the monastery refectory into a theatre, where his pupils acted regularly. John Bale visited his

²¹ Lee, *Shakespeare*, 41.

school and witnessed a number of performances; he was much impressed with the religious, educational and dramatic value of the work, and accordingly handed down to posterity a list of some of Radclif's plays.²² This indicates the strongly Biblical nature of the plays, as the titles include *Job's Sufferings*, *Jonas*, and *The Burning of Sodom*; one is a religious polemic Reformation play on the burning of John Huss, which Bale refers to as "*De Joannis Huss Bohemie nati condemnatione*."

Mention has already been made of the importance of the boys from the choir schools; St. Paul's is perhaps the most striking example. The church ceremonies and liturgy demanded large choirs, and in mediæval times the service itself was quite dramatic. The origin of the practice of using choir boys must have been of an early date. As the demands upon the choir boy increased, it was natural that the Church should offer him some education, as he was prevented from gaining any elsewhere. Singing was then of much greater educational importance than it is now; elementary instruction, according to Watson, was largely included in it, and he adds, "the most important type of Elementary School before the Reformation was.....the Song School."²³ Furthermore, nearly all these Song Schools were connected with a church; the teachers were usually chantry priests, and the scholars generally took part in the church service as choir boys. Accordingly the chief subject taught was music; in the early period some grammar may have been included.²⁴ As the great Public Schools, and town Grammar Schools were founded, the Song School simply trained in reading, writing and singing. After the Reformation, says Watson, nearly all the Song Schools were connected with the cathedrals. As the Grammar Schools and Public Schools gradually demanded ability to read and write for entrance, the educational importance of the Song School increased. Merchant-Taylors' School, in 1561, by Statute decided that no boy should be admitted who could not "read perfectly and write competently;" St. Paul's School and many others did likewise. Meanwhile, owing to the Reformation, the chantries support had been abolished, and the choir boy had, perhaps, become less necessary; at least the cathedral Song Schools could no longer supply the needed elementary education, and there sprang up Dame Schools and private elementary schools taught

²² Bale, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, 333, (1902 ed.).

²³ Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660*, 142.

²⁴ Watson, 142.

by "Tailors, Weavers, Shopkeepers, Seamsters and such others;" schools that were for so long a disgrace to England's educational system. Throughout the Elizabethan period, however, the important Song Schools for choir boys continued to give elementary instruction. We have many examples of the employment of an "Usher" or teacher for the choir boys; and the Choir Master at St. Paul's Cathedral in 1584 directed that after the boys had learned to read, write and sing "then suffer them to resort to St. Paul's School that they may learn the principles of Grammar.....and the Catechism in Latin..... and other good books taught in said school."²⁵ In addition to the Song Schools for the choir boys at the cathedrals, mention should be made of those maintained for the private chapels of the nobles. The Earl of Northumberland had a "Maister of the childe" of his chapel; Edward IV had a master to teach his chapel-choir boys "to prick song, to grammar and other virtuous things;" Elizabeth was particularly fond of the children of her chapel, who frequently appeared before her.

These Song Schools for choir boys, both of cathedrals and private chapels, accordingly, were definitely educational institutions; what was their importance dramatically? In the old sacred dramas, the mysteries and moralities, which were given in close connection with the Church, the choir boys had served as actors; indeed the whole church service was dramatic in its mystic symbolism. The institution of the Boy Bishop, probably begun by the choir boys,²⁶ developed this spectacular and dramatic side of their education, and it is but natural to find the choir boys used as actors for both religious and secular plays. That choir boys of St. Paul's had been prominent in dramatic activities is evident from their petition to Richard II, in 1378, "praying him to prohibit the ignorant and inexperienced from acting religious plays."²⁷ Warton tells of a performance before Henry VII at Westminster Castle in 1487, by the choir boys of the Abbey and Priory at Winchester.²⁸ The Children of the Chapel Royal acted at Court in 1506; the performance before Henry VIII in 1528 was probably given by the choir boys of St. Paul's.²⁹ These two choirs were

²⁵ Churton, *Life of Nowell*, 190.

²⁶ Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, i., 336-371; Leach, *Fortnightly Review*, 1896, 128.

²⁷ Collier, *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, i., 17.

²⁸ *History of English Poetry*, iv., 47.

²⁹ Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, ii., 193.

the most important dramatic performers in the early years of Elizabeth, who seems to have been particularly fond of the boy actors. Soon the Children of the Chapel Royal and the Children of St. Paul's were organized into semi-professional companies. Each had its regular place of performance in the city, either the Song School itself, or some special theatre. Burbage's theatre, 1576, probably the first permanent stage in London,³⁰ seems to have been built chiefly for the use of these "children;" the theatre at Blackfriars was also used by them, and the private theatre at Whitechapel was frequently the scene of plays by "Paul's Children." Gradually the theatrical importance of these choirs increased, and, as Schelling points out, the task of the Choir Master must have been no mean one as he was organist, choir leader, writer of plays, manager of a company, coach of his actors, and perhaps also their teacher in the elementary branches.

Some of the Choir Masters have left names that are noteworthy in the history of the English drama. Richard Edwards, Master of the Queen's Chapel Children, 1561-1567, was classed by a contemporary, Puttenham, as among "the most commended writers in our English Poesie"³¹ and his tragicomedy *Damon and Pithias* is a significant advance in dramatic composition. By some critics *Misogonus* is assigned to him.³² His successor, William Hunnis, 1567-1597, is supposed to have written thirteen plays which were played by his children before the Queen: for each he received about £5; in 1583 he petitioned for an increase of his salary of £40, which he said was too small to maintain his children, and pay an usher to teach and manage them, "and a woman servant to keep them clean."³³ At his death Nathaniel Giles was made Master of the Chapel Children: in addition to their Court performances they were trained by Giles as professional actors at Blackfriars. Elizabeth's high evaluation of these Children is attested by the warrant she gave him (and his namesake, Thomas Giles, Master of the Children of St. Paul's) to take from any cathedral, collegiate church, parish church, or chapel, such children as were "apt and meet. . . . for the better service of her Majesty's Chapel." Although this right of impressing choir boys was not new, these two Choir Masters seem to have abused their privilege, and even taken boys from schools, and apprentices from their masters, so

³⁰ Lawrence, *Elizabethan Playhouse*, Appendix.

³¹ *Art of English Poesie*, 73, 77, (Arber ed.).

³² Fleay, *Chronicle History of the London Stage*, 60.

³³ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, (1581-1590), 123.

that the royal council finally had to interfere. John Lyly wrote all his plays for children to act; in the eighties he probably held the position of Vice-master of the Children of St. Paul's.³⁴ His earliest dramatic attempt, *Campaspe*, 1580-1581, was played, first at Blackfriars and later at the Court, by the two Boy Companies, Chapel Royal and St. Paul's, as was his second play, *Sapho and Phao*; his third, *Gallathea*, 1584, was performed by the boys of St. Paul's, who also presented his greatest success, *Endimion*, 1585. Although other later dramatists, notably Peele and Nash, wrote for children's companies, their importance waned as the professional companies of adult actors (Leicester's, Strange's, Carey's, King's, Queen's, Admiral's and Pembroke's) increased in importance, and this was due largely to the fact that each Company had to be licensed by some nobleman. For reasons not fully known, both companies of children were frequently inhibited, the Children of the Chapel Royal from 1583-1591, and St. Paul's boys from 1590-1600; their later plays were private, in the Singing School or their own theatre.

It is evident that just as the English schools helped to give birth to the English drama, just as their teachers furnished the first playwrights, so their pupils, either in Public School or Song School, furnished the first actors. The boy actor was an important element in the drama during Elizabeth's reign; too often the dramatists forgot their debt to these youthful actors, for, as managers also, they felt keenly the competition between their own professional companies and the popular boy companies. Two of the greatest dramatists have voiced their anger in their plays. In Act III, Scene 2 of *Hamlet* (probably written in 1601, when the Children of the Chapel Royal were very popular) Shakespeare makes Rosencrantz say of the dramatic situation in "the city": "But there is, sir, an eyrie of children, little eyases, that cry out on the top of the question and are most tyrannically clapped for't: these are now the fashion." Jonson wrote in a like humor in his *Staple of News*, Act III, Scene 2, although he seems to refer to the use of the drama in the schools themselves: "They make all their scholars play boys. Is't not a fine sight, to see all our children made interluders? Do we pay our money for this? We send them to learn their grammar and their Terence and they learn their play books!" Even Jonson, however, could applaud the boy actor when he acted well, and his verses of appreciation indicate

³⁴ Bond, *Lyly*, i., 33, 34, ii., 309-311.

a reason for their popularity, and suggest that some, at least, were actors of considerable ability. His Epigram CXX, an "*Epitaph on Salathiel Pavy, a child of Queen Elizabeth's Chapel*" includes these lines:

"Years he numbered scarce thirteen
 When fates turn'd cruel,
 Yet three fill'd zodiacs had he been
 The stage's jewel;
 And did act, what now we moan,
 Old men so duly,
 As, sooth, the Parcae thought him one,
 He played so truly."

The sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries produced in England a number of important education theorists and writers, among whom Ascham, Milton, Mulcaster, Bacon, Elyot, Hoole and Brinsley would probably be accounted the chief. Nearly all of these men refer to the School Drama in their writings, and accord it high praise as an educational method. The fact that no more mention is made of it is explained in two ways: most of these men were more interested in the aims, objects and material of education, than in methods; and, like all educational writers, they devoted more attention to urging needed reforms than to commenting upon present practices; none of them, at least, found anything to criticize in the School Drama.

Roger Ascham is one of the most important writers on English education; he is a thorough humanist, and believes grammar, when rightly taught, to be the center of education. His most important recommendation, perhaps, is double translation, which would be aided by such a work as Plasgrave's *Acolastus*. He was warm in his commendation of Terence, but he said the teacher should "avoid Plautus' improper words."⁸⁵ He was cordial in his references to Sturm, who, as Ascham must have known, made the School Drama one of his important educational methods. In his epistles he refers to the excellent dramatic performances in the school in Antwerp, probably one of the Hieronymians', and states that he himself had translated a Greek play, *Philoctetes*, into Latin, quite possibly for school use.⁸⁶ He believed that any such dramatic work should very closely follow the classic models, and wrote, praising one and condemning another:

⁸⁵ *Scholemaster*, 11, 14, 19, 72, 92, (Arber ed.); Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, ii., 195n.

⁸⁶ Hazlitt, *Manual*, 179.

"Whan M. Watson in S. Johns College at Cambridge wrote his excellent Tragedie of *Absalon*, M. Cheke, he and I, had many pleasant talkes together" about the necessity for following the dramatic precepts of Aristotle, Euripides, Sophocles and Seneca. Of all the plays that Ascham knew "onely two, M. Watson's *Absalon* and Georgius Buchananus *Jephthe* is able to abyde the trew touch of Aristotles preceptes and Euripides examples." One man in Cambridge had written tragedies "well liked by many, but best liked of him selfe," which violated these classic principles in their misuse of the various kinds of verse, and hence received Ascham's severest criticism.³⁷ *Absalon* was probably a University Play, but *Jephthes* was written by Buchanan for his boys to perform at his school at Bordeaux, and hence is a School Play.³⁸

Thomas Elyot, in his *Governour*, makes a defence of Latin comedies as material for school-room use. The attack was made upon them, he says, because of their apparent immorality, and in a discursive reply, too long to quote, he shows that the modern interludes likewise contained immoralities, and no outcry was raised against them; even the sermons of the time, says he, are often as immoral as any Latin dramatist! Furthermore, he urges that these plays contain much that is undeniably good; they serve as models for modern dramatists, and give a pure Latin vocabulary to the scholar who uses them. Hence Elyot defends their presence in the school, and since at that time they were largely used as School Dramas, he can be enrolled among the supporters of this pedagogic device.³⁹ References from the literature of the time might be quoted to show how extensive was the dramatic use of Latin comedies in Henry VIII's reign; More, in the *Utopia*, speaks of the "playing of a commedye of Plautus,"⁴⁰ and Skelton, in two of his poems, makes a similar reference.⁴¹

Francis Bacon was intimately connected with the Elizabethan drama; he contrived the "showes" for a Senecan tragedy while still a student; he was famous for his assistance in the court masques; he expended \$10,000 on one such masque which he wrote himself; and he wrote an essay called *Of Masques and Triumphs*.⁴² Furthermore, he

³⁷ *Scholemaster*, 139, (Arber ed.).

³⁸ Herford, *Literary Relations of Germany and England*, 98

³⁹ *Governour*, 123, 128, (Croft ed.).

⁴⁰ *Utopia*, 58, (Roper ed.).

⁴¹ *Speke Parrot*, line 181, and *Garlands of Lawrell*, line 353.

⁴² Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, i., 102, ii., 107, 117.

definitely placed his stamp of approval upon the School Drama. He wrote: "In modern states playacting is esteemed but a toy, except when it is too satirical and biting, but among the ancients it was used as a means of educating men's minds to virtue." Again, when praising the Jesuits for their use of the School Drama, he says: "It is a thing indeed, if practiced professionally, of low repute; but if it be made a part of discipline, it is of excellent use. I mean stage playing; an art which strengthens the memory, regulates the tone and effect of the voice and pronunciation, teaches a decent carriage of the countenance and gesture, gives not a little assurance, and accustoms young men to bear being looked at."⁴³

Richard Mulcaster showed his approval of the School Drama by the great dramatic activity in which he engaged while headmaster of Merchant-Taylors' and St. Paul's Schools. His emphasis upon the vernacular may have aided in inspiring Spenser to write English poetry, and Lodge and Kyd to write English plays: they were among his pupils. His *Positions* does not discuss many points of class-room method and hence omits the School Drama, which in practice, however, was one of his hobbies. Milton, on the other hand, commends the School Drama in theory, although he had no actual experience with it in practice. In his *Tractate* he recommends that the pupils in the Academy learn and act the great classic tragedies, "which if they were not only read, but some of them got by memory, and solemnly pronounc't with right accent, and grace, as might be taught, would endow them (the pupils) even with the spirit and vigor of Demosthenes, or Cicero, Euripides or Sophocles."⁴⁴

John Brinsley, in his *Ludus Literarius*, urges the use of Terence, and *Terence Christianus*, which should be studied and used "for Latin speaking."⁴⁵ Charles Hoole, in his various books on methods in the Grammar School, refers definitely to the value of the School Drama. Terence is the first Latin author he recommends as "the very quintessence of familiar Latins;" the matter is moral, and modern, and therefore the pupils are to use Terence so thoroughly "as to make him wholly their own." Continuing, he says: "When you meet with an act or scene that is full of affection and action, you may cause some of your scholars—after they have learned it—to act it first in

⁴³ *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, Bk. ii., ch. xiii., and Bk. vi., ch. iv.; Barnard, *English Pedagogy*, 92.

⁴⁴ *Tractate*, 15, (Cambridge Press ed.).

⁴⁵ *Ludus Literarius*, 221.

private amongst themselves, and afterwards in the open school before their fellows. Herein you must have a main care of their pronunciation and acting every gesture of the very life. This acting of a piece of comedy or a colloquy sometimes will be an excellent means to prepare them to pronounce orations with a grace, and I have found it an especial remedy to expel that subrustic bashfulness and irresistible timorousness which some children are naturally possessed withal, and which is apt in riper years to drown many good parts in men of singular endowments."

We have seen that the School Drama in England prevailed as an educational method in probably nearly all of the schools of this period, that the leading educational writers commended it, that it furnished the authors for the early Elizabethan drama, and the first companies of actors. This close relation between the School Drama in England and the early English drama will next be considered.

CHAPTER III

THE SCHOOL DRAMA AND THE ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

The purpose for which the School Drama was established gradually vanished; the famous schools which had caused their pupils to act in Latin plays, in order that they might learn the language, lost sight of the aim in their enthusiasm for the means. The populace soon demanded a vernacular drama, and the Latin drama quickly fell into disrepute, even losing its pedagogical importance in the school. In its response to this attitude of the people, England differs markedly from Germany, where the Latin drama continued until the time of Lessing.¹ The greatest contribution of the School Drama will probably be found in its relation to the larger field of the English drama. One enters here upon a problem which presents many difficulties; the Elizabethan drama sprang from diverse causes, catered to diverse audiences, was written by men of diverse training and attitude, and presents a very diverse development. With the exception of scattered references, in Creizenach, Schelling, Herford and the Cambridge History, very little attempt has been made to trace out the relationship of the School Drama and the English drama of the sixteenth century.

The first fact which must strike any student of this period is the great sway of Latin.² At a time when they read only the classics, strove to converse in classical Latin, and wrote Latin only, it is no wonder that the Latin drama was held up as the model for all budding dramatists. The development of dramatic art during this period can be traced by noting the way in which classical models are first blindly imitated in Latin, and then gradually adapted to the vernacular; finally the true Elizabethan drama emerges toward the close of the century through those dramatists who had learned to utilize the best of the past for the good of the present. As Boas points out, this development in England was nearly a century behind that in Italy.³ But this is to be expected when one remembers that the influence of the classics spread over Italy much earlier than over England. The

¹ Scherer, *Geschichte des Elsasses*, 300.

² Morley, *English Writers*, viii., 86.

³ *Cambridge History of English Literature*, v., 68.

whole humanistic movement developed first in Italy, thence spreading to Germany, and Holland, which contributed the great leader of the English revival, Erasmus.

The Elizabethan drama undoubtedly has its origin in the ancient church ceremonies, and the mysteries and moralities. These were most definitely "popular;" a guild of carpenters, for instance, acted out some Biblical scene, after which the leather workers did their "turn." The actors were, of course, untrained; the plays themselves, if such they may be called, were authorless compilations and literary evolutions; the stage was a market place, or a cart; no scenery was used; the unities were unknown; there was no division into acts; and little individualization of character. These productions, however, contributed two traditions which were effective in moulding the unformed Elizabethan drama: the drama was for the public, understood by them, shared with them, produced by them, and it also had a definite motive.⁴ The early religious aim (still evident to the devout spectator at Oberammergau) joined with the educational purpose (which promoted the School Drama) and produced the Prodigal Son plays, and the numerous moral plays of later date. The Protestant drama of the type of Kirchmayer's, is the fullest development of this double aim.⁵ As the true function of the drama became evident, the authors of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries strove to amuse the populace with a possible moral lesson underlying, for him who sought for it. The slowness of the dramatic development in Germany and the tenaciousness of the Latin drama there may largely be explained by the absence of the first factor mentioned above, the popular aim, which soon ended the career of the Latin drama in England and fostered the vernacular plays for and of the people.⁶

To this inheritance from the mysteries and moralities and the church ceremonies came the classical influence. The chief results of this union were the appreciation of action "on and off" the stage, division into acts, definite scenes in place of various "stations" on one set scene, the use of ghosts and horrors, prologues and epilogues, definite characterization, soliloquies, the decorum of style and the unities.⁷ A natural result of this classical influence is seen in the shorter plays,

⁴ Thorndike, *Tragedy*, 27.

⁵ Thorndike, *Tragedy*, 37.

⁶ Herford, *Literary Relations of England and Germany*, 70; Jundt, *Die Dramatischen Aufführungen im Gymnasium zu Strassburg*, 5.

⁷ Thorndike, *Tragedy*, 35; *Cambridge History of English Literature*, v., 98.

complete in one performance, and in fewer actors. (Seneca observes the rule of three actors.)⁸ A better appreciation of what was suitable for stage presentation also developed.

The influence of Plautus and Terence is first evident; their dramas all being comedies, are intimately connected with the School Drama which itself is largely comedy. The discovery, by Nicholas of Treves in 1429, of the twelve lost comedies of Plautus, gave an impetus to this humanistic revival. Terence, however, probably inspired more imitators in the earlier decades. Among these may be mentioned Wimpfeling's *Stylpho*, played by students at Heidelberg in 1470 while the author was still a student there,⁹ which is probably the first School Drama of which we have definite information; the anonymous *Codrus*; and, in spite of its brief career, Reuchlin's *Sergius*.¹⁰ Again the discovery in 1501 of the attempts by the Nun of Gandersheim to give Terence a Biblical setting, added more interest in the classical revival. The *Henno* (or *Scenica Progymnasmata*)¹¹ of Reuchlin, 1497, was the first really successful use of modern material in a play which is classic in form and language.¹² The epilogue is in true Terentian style.¹³ Too little importance has been given to the *Henno*; in Germany it received the praise of Melancthon, and Erasmus approves the author's style.¹⁴ It was produced at Dalburg by May, 1498, with much success, and the author and patron received the thanks of the city, while the actors, probably students, gained a more material reward in the form of gold rings.¹⁵ German translations, or adaptations, were made by Hans Sachs, 1531,¹⁶ Georg Wagner, 1547,¹⁷ and Jorg Wickram, 1555.¹⁸ A work of this sort, which Herford justly calls "epoch-making," must have influenced England also:

⁸ Cunliffe, *The Influences of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*, 39.

⁹ Herford, *Literary Relations of England and Germany*, 77. Not referred to in Von Raumer, or Schwarz, *Jacob Wimpfeling*, or Freundgen, *Jacob Wimpfeling pädagogische Schriften*. Scherer is wrong in claiming it is lost.

¹⁰ Geiger, *Reuchlin*, 81.

¹¹ Herford, *Literary Relations of England and Germany*, 80; Geiger, *Reuchlin*, 82-90.

¹² Based on *Blanchet Maître Pathelin*, a French farce of about 1470.

¹³ Goedeke, *Grundriss*, i., 304.

¹⁴ Erasmus, *Ciceronianus*, i., 852, (ed. of 1540).

¹⁵ Letter of John Bergmaun of Olpe, May, 1498.

¹⁶ Gottsched, *Nöthiger Vorrath zur Geschichte der deutschen dramatischen Dichtkunst*, 61.

¹⁷ Grimm, *Geschichte der deutschen National-Literatur*, ii., 339.

¹⁸ Kurz, *Deutsche Bibliothek*, vii., 206.

its keen satirical touches prepared the way for those in *Ralph Roister Doister* and *Gammer Gurton's Needle*; the healthy tone of the *Henno*,¹⁹ in contrast to the lascivious and immoral scenes in Terence, prepared the way for *Acolastus*, *Asotus*, and *Misogonus*, where Biblical material is treated in classic style. The Dutch School, represented by such school men as Gnapheus, Macropedius, and Crocus, strove to Christianize Terence, and their School Dramas combine the Terentian influence and the new use of the Prodigal Son motif, which was so powerful in Germany,²⁰ and which may be seen in England in Palsgrave's translation of the *Acolastus*, Redford's *Play of Wit and Science*, Ingeland's *The Disobedient Child*, *Nice Wanton*, *Misogonus*, and Gascoigne's *Glass of Government*. The translations of the plays of Terence, which follow naturally after imitations, were numerous in the first half of the sixteenth century. Among many may be mentioned a German edition in 1499, a translation at Paris in 1500, and in 1577 one in Spanish; in England Rastell published a translation of at least a part of the plays; *Terence in English* was published in 1530 and Udall's *Flowers from Terence* appeared in 1534; in these two latter we have examples of Terence used as a play,²¹ and as a school book for learning Latin.

The influence of Plautus upon the Elizabethan drama can be more directly traced; like Terence he influenced the early humanistic dramatists (nearly all of whom were school men) in Holland and Germany, and thence, England. But due either to the newness of his plays, for even the sixteenth century was interested in "a new thing," or to the greater adaptability of his style and subjects to the drama of the time, the Plautine influence can be much more directly traced in the English drama itself. Gosson, writing in 1579, said that the first English comedies "smelt of Plautus."²² All these scholastic leaders of the age, including Erasmus, More, Ascham, Elyot, Mulcaster, Sturm, Melanchthon and Luther, urged the study and use of his works. In 1520 an edition of Plautus appeared,²³ but there were practically no English translations in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, except the *Menaechmi* of W. W. (William Warner?) in

¹⁹ Note also prologue to *Sergius*.

²⁰ On the general subject, see Francke, *Terenz und die Latein Schulkomödie in Deutschland*; Ballentine edition of Terence's *Hauton*, pgs., vii.-xviii.

²¹ Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, i., 82.

²² *School of Abuse*, 20, (ed. of 1841).

²³ Brandl, *Quellen*, lxxi.

1595, which Shakespeare may have used in manuscript for his *Comedy of Errors*. The *Miles Gloriosus*, with its braggart soldier, can be traced very definitely in Udall's *Ralph Roister Doister*, probably our first English comedy and one of the most significant of the School Dramas. Brandl points out the influence of Plautus in the School Play *Thersites*, 1537, and in *Jack Juggler*, which used the material made famous in *Amphitro*.²⁴ Shakespeare at least took the names Tranio and Grumio from Plautus' *Mostellaria*, and Ben Jonson amalgamated two of the Latin dramatist's plots into his *The Case is Altered*. *Thersites*, an interlude of 1537, claims a relationship with Plautus' famous soldier through Textor's edition.²⁵ Holinshed refers to the playing of "a goodly comedy of Plautus" at the court in 1520,²⁶ and More shows conclusively that such plays were far from unusual, and were often interfered with by the populace who objected to the Latin.²⁷ That many of the school plays of Eton, Westminster and Shrewsbury were closely modeled on Plautus, has already been indicated.²⁸

The influence of Seneca came later, but was probably more extensive than that of Terence or Plautus. As it is more closely related to English tragedy than comedy, it is less connected with the School Drama. By 1581 all of Seneca's tragedies had been translated into English, for use on the stage, probably at schools and universities. The Italian Renaissance had reveled in Seneca,²⁹ and Saintsbury claims that Seneca held the French drama captive until the time of Voltaire.³⁰ One of our earliest School Dramas by an Englishman, Buchanan's *Baptistes*, 1543, is the first treatment of tragedy north of the Alps.³¹ It doubtless inaugurated the "Christian Seneca," those plays in which Hebrew history was served up with fittingly Senecan gore. Frischlin and Brüllov led this movement in Germany, which was of a far more lasting importance than that of the Christianized Terence.³² Of Latin imitations of Seneca in England, Grimald's *Archipropeta*, 1547, is probably chief, in addition to being the best neo-Latin play pro-

²⁴ *Ibid.*, lxxi.

²⁵ Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, ii., 465.

²⁶ *Chronicles*, iii., 850, (ed. of 1587).

²⁷ *Utopia*, 58, (Roper's trans.).

²⁸ Pg. 21.

²⁹ Klein, *Geschichte des Dramas*, v., 236.

³⁰ Preliminary note to Grosart's *Daniel*, viii.

³¹ Thorndike, *Tragedy*, 37.

³² Pg. 64.

duced in England.³³ *Gorboduc*, popularly called our first English tragedy, 1562, is an excellent example of the combination of Seneca's style and British mythical history. The *Misfortunes of Arthur*, 1587, *Lochrine*, 1586, and Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* are merely examples of the Senecan craze. Indeed it spread so rapidly that choleric Nash was driven to hope, in 1589, that Seneca "at length must needs die to our stage."³⁴ Ascham³⁵ and Hoole³⁶ are only two of the many schoolmen who recommended his tragedies for school use. Nor is this extreme popularity surprising when we realize that the Elizabethans had almost no direct knowledge of Greek tragedy and hence received from Seneca their chief ideas of the drama as an art. Webbe, Puttenham and Sydney, in their discourses on contemporary English literature, all pointed out the importance of Seneca.³⁷ Cunliffe shows that the following characteristics of Seneca naturally promoted his popularity with the Elizabethans: "he is modern, cosmopolitan, introspective, sensational, rhetorical, descriptive and reflective." His most marked contributions were decorum of style, suitability of characters (substitution, generally, of high for low life), five acts, and the unities.³⁸ If Terence and Plautus influenced early English dramatists by suggesting style and material, Seneca aided later in fashioning the drama when it became a conscious art.

It remains to show the relation of this all important classic influence to the School Drama, and school practice. Did the introduction of Terence, Plautus and Seneca into the school and university curricula, and the presentation of these plays, bring about this classic revival? If not, what did? At a time when learning and knowledge of the classics were synonymous, when the drama was being produced by, first, schoolmen, then university wits, and finally by the professional actors themselves, the schools must have done much to shape the course of the drama at its start, which is exactly the period when classic influence is felt. To begin with, we note that during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries Terence and Plautus were very generally introduced into the schools. When Colet founded St. Paul's

³³ Herford, *Literary Relations of England and Germany*, 70.

³⁴ Preface to Greene's *Menaphon*.

³⁵ *Scholemaster*, 140, (Arber ed.).

³⁶ *New Discovery*, 8; and *Cambridge History of English Literature*, v., 90.

³⁷ Cunliffe, *Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*, ii.

³⁸ Thorndike, *Tragedy*, 40; Cunliffe, 32-46; Miller, *Tragedies of Seneca*, (Manly's introduction).

in 1512 he demanded that "pure Latin like Terence" be taught.³⁹ Ward refers to the "charmed life which Terence led in the darkest ages of learning."⁴⁰ Melanchthon, Sturm, Luther, Ascham and Erasmus unite in recommending Terence and Plautus, and the references of Ratke and Comenius, in the next century, attest to the universality of their use. Poor Lope de Vega had to struggle hard to get away from the influence of Plautus and Terence and write vernacular dramas.⁴¹ Baynes believes that the Stratford Grammar School, which is typical, taught Shakespeare Terence, Plautus and Seneca.⁴² Hoole says that pupils should read these dramatists, and learn to imitate them.⁴³ Actors, whether boys or professionals, were supposed to be familiar with these plays, which they had first met in their school days; Polonius says of the actors in *Hamlet* "Seneca cannot be too heavy, nor Plautus too light" for them.⁴⁴ What the schools gave their students certainly influenced those students in their after life, particularly when they actually took part in presenting a play, instead of grinding out a translation of it, as we do today. Although until the time of Erasmus classical plays were merely read or recited in the school, with perhaps an actor or two going through a pantomime,⁴⁵ this practice had gradually disappeared by the time of the School Drama. If the early Elizabethan drama was largely written by scholars, and if the bulk of scholarship in that age was classical, and Terence, Plautus and Seneca formed a large part of this material at this particular period, is it not evident that the influence of these Latin dramatists upon our English drama comes largely through the medium of the schools? If the use of these plays in the schools was frequently, if not generally, by the presentation of them,⁴⁶ is not the debt of the Elizabethan drama to the School Drama evident?

A further point in support of this claim is found in the fact that a very large number, if not a majority, of the early Elizabethan dramatists were school men,⁴⁷ many of whose works were produced for a

³⁹ Carlisle, *Endowed Grammar Schools*, ii., 77.

⁴⁰ Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, ii., 207.

⁴¹ Jusserand, *Shakspeare en France*, 177.

⁴² *What Shakespeare Learned at School*.

⁴³ *Cambridge History of English Literature*, v., 90.

⁴⁴ Act II, Scene 2, line 420.

⁴⁵ Thorndike, *Tragedy*, 23.

⁴⁶ Pg. 10.

⁴⁷ Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, i., 94.

definite pedagogical purpose. As has already been stated, the actor playwright was a later development in the English drama; the courtier as a dramatist is probably a result of Elizabeth's desire for dramatic entertainments at her court and on her "progresses."⁴⁸ Her great love for the classics naturally favored the imitation, by her courtier dramatists, of the Latin models. Her annual visits to the universities, where some play was produced before her by the students, under the direction of a Gager or a Peele, and her interests in the Public Schools, all helped to promote a union between the drama and the scholarly institutions and interests of the day. Ralph Radcliffe, whom Bale enjoyed visiting at his school in the old Hitchin Monastery, was primarily a schoolmaster, and incidentally one of the earliest and chief of the Latin dramatists in England. A zealous defender of the old method of pronouncing Greek, he made his school (1546-59) a home of humanistic classicism. Bale refers to ten Latin plays which Radcliffe wrote for his scholars to present on the improvised stage once used as a dining room by the Carmelite monks. On the same authority we learn that Radcliffe wrote on educational topics, such as *De Puerorum Institutione*.⁴⁹ Nicholas Grimald, whose *Archipropheta* (1547) is the best of the Latin plays produced in England, and for the rediscovery of which our thanks are due to Herford,⁵⁰ spent some years of his life as a lecturer at Christ Church, Oxford. It was during this period that his two known Latin plays were written, one of which, at least, seems to have been played at Oxford.⁵¹ Wood informs us that Grimald was a translator of the classics, notably Virgil.⁵² His poems, in *Tottel's Miscellany*, are well known. George Buchanan,⁵³ who, like Bale, was forced to flee from England because of the religious controversy, was a teacher nearly all his life, as a tutor to royalty, college professor, and principal. His elegy on his life at St. Andrews is one of our most interesting sources for that university and his Latin version of Linacre's *Grammar* attained considerable popularity in the schools. His four Latin tragedies, written 1540-43 at Bordeaux for the use of his pupils (among whom was Montaigne), are among the earliest by an English hand,

⁴⁸ Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, i., 145.

⁴⁹ Bale, *Scriptorum Britanniae*, 700.

⁵⁰ Herford, *Literary Relations of England and Germany*, 109.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 113; Goedeke, *Grundriss*, 113, No. 30.

⁵² *Athenae Oxonienses*, i., 407-11, (Bliss ed.).

⁵³ Irving, *Life of Buchanan; Works*, (Ruddiman ed., 1715).

and were instrumental in substituting classic models for the then popular allegories, and in showing the possibility of using Biblical material for contemporary drama. As already pointed out, they are saturated with Seneca, and Euripides. Herford accords the *Jephthes* high praise.⁵⁴ John Rightwise, who succeeded his father-in-law, Lyly, as head master of St. Paul's, 1522, is remembered for his work on Lyly's famous *Grammar*, and his Latin play of *Dido*, "out of Virgil," given by his boys before Henry VIII, 1527, one of our earliest known School Dramas in England.⁵⁵ As we have said, his educational career, like Udall's, is not particularly praiseworthy; he was removed from his position in 1531.⁵⁶ Nicholas Udall holds a prominent place in the dramatic and educational history of the sixteenth century. *Ralph Roister Doister* is our first so-called English comedy; it is one of the most successful combinations of dramatic art and pedagogical intent which the School Drama affords. Probably written during Udall's headmastership at Eton (1534-1541), it was possibly presented before the queen.⁵⁷ It is also highly significant that Udall first introduced a vernacular play into the annual presentation of Plautus or Terence given at Eton, November 30. He is famous for flogging,⁵⁸ for editions of Terence and of Erasmus' New Testament Paraphrase, for Tractates on religious problems of the day, for Latin poems, and for *Ezekias* (an English play produced before the queen at Cambridge, "by King's College men only").⁵⁹ Thomas Watson, whose plays Ascham approved and considered equal to Buchanan's,⁶⁰ was on the Cambridge faculty for many years.⁶¹ Thomas Preston, author of *Cambises* (1569), was another university professor, who served as Vice Chancellor of Cambridge, 1589-90; in 1564 his acting in Gager's *Dido* had attracted the approval of the queen, on her annual visit to the university, and he had been granted a pension.⁶² "Woodall, the schoolmaster at Eton," produced a play before Cromwell in 1538,

⁵⁴ *Literary Relations of England and Germany*, 98; note Mitchell's translation (1900).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 107; Collier, *English Dramatic Poetry*, i., 105, (ed. 1831).

⁵⁶ Gardiner, *Register of St. Paul's School*, 20.

⁵⁷ Flügel, *Furnivall Miscellany*, 82; Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigenses*; Introduction to *Ralph Roister Doister*, i. (Shakespeare Society ed.).

⁵⁸ Tusser, *Good Husbandrie*, (1575).

⁵⁹ Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, i., 211, (Bliss ed.).

⁶⁰ *Scholemaster*, 139, (Arber ed.).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*; also Bridgett, *Watson*.

⁶² Nichols, *Progresses*, iii., 71, 131; Fleay, *History of the English Stage*.

using, as customary, the scholars for actors, but whether this play was by him or not, we cannot tell.⁶³ Thomas Legge, author of the Latin *Richardus Tertius* which was acted at Cambridge in 1579, was one of the leading professors at that university, 1568 to 1593. Fleay states that a play on the destruction of Jerusalem, by Legge, was acted at Coventry, 1577.⁶⁴ John Christopherson taught at Trinity, Cambridge, 1546-1554, during which time he wrote his Latin-Greek tragedy, *Jephthes* (now lost),⁶⁵ and translated many old Latin plays. The insufferable Latin plays of William Gager (notably *Dido*, referred to above) could only have been produced by a dry-as-dust classical university professor; he was at Oxford from 1577 to 1598, at least. Our chief interest in him lies in his connection with Peele, and his controversy with Rainolds over stage morality.⁶⁶ John Lyly represents a combination of the schoolmaster and courtier as a dramatist.⁶⁷ John Palsgrave, the introduction to whose translation of *Acolastus* is given in the Appendix, was a famous tutor, a writer on French Grammar, and a student at both universities.

Although possibly somewhat beyond the field of the actual School Drama and its influence on the Elizabethan drama, reference should be made to the university plays.⁶⁸ The Latin drama was never as popular in England as it was in Germany, and soon its only hold was in Oxford and Cambridge, where Latin plays continued until the middle of the seventeenth century. The royal visits usually formed the occasions for such productions, and men of the type of Gager rest their claims for fame upon these dull dramas. *The Returns from Parnassus*, at the end of the century, mark the rise of the vernacular; they also are examples of the plays upon school life, of which we have many examples in England and Germany. *Apollo Shroving*, acted by scholars at the Free School of Hadleigh in 1626, is perhaps the most successful treatment of this material in English. The audience frequently objected to the use of Latin in such plays. The old Latin dramas were presented at Oxford⁶⁹ and Cambridge;⁷⁰ Grimald's

⁶³ Lyte, *History of Eton*, 111.

⁶⁴ *Chronicles of the English Stage*, 43.

⁶⁵ Chamber, *Mediaeval Stage*, ii., 195, 211.

⁶⁶ Woods, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ii., 87-9, (Bliss ed.).

⁶⁷ Bond, *Lyly*.

⁶⁸ Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, ii., 50-92.

⁶⁹ Boase, *Oxford*, 194.

⁷⁰ Mullinger, *Cambridge*, ii., 73.

neo-Latin plays won favor at Oxford;⁷¹ Cambridge students were fined in 1546 for not taking their parts in these productions;⁷² *Hamlet* was given at both universities, and also Jonson's *Volpone*;⁷³ Ascham writes at length of his pleasures from attending these university plays,⁷⁴ and frequent mention is made of the extravagant productions, such as the *Dido*, of Gager, with its snow, "all strange, marvelous and abundant,"⁷⁵ and the mechanical devices on which Francis Bacon was employed. The university drama forms a topic in itself, but there is evident a close connection, particularly in the neo-Latin period, with the School Drama.

Reference has already been made to the connection between the School Drama and the boy companies,⁷⁶ which flourished so extensively that Shakespeare was forced to object to the "little eyases that cry out on the top of the question."⁷⁷ The Song Schools, from which most of the boy companies originated, were to train choir boys for the church services; in every case they taught also the elementary school subjects. Indeed nearly all elementary education in England at this period was given by the Church. Accordingly the boy companies are, at origin, really an offshoot of the boy actors of the School Drama. The famous schools, such as Westminster, St. Paul's, and Merchant-Taylors', which gained a reputation for their boy actors, probably began with the motive which prompted the School Drama. Richard Mulcaster, at Merchant-Taylors', 1561-1586, urged that boys gain ability in English speech as well as in Latin, and Spenser, Kyd, and Lodge may have all received their first inspiration from acting under him.⁷⁸ All of Lyly's, and one of Peele's best plays were written for boy actors.⁷⁹

The School Drama, finally, contributed new material to the Elizabethan drama. The Dutch humanistic school, represented by Gnapheus, Macropedius, and Crocus, first used the Prodigal Son material for dramatic purposes. In Germany this plot was used by many

⁷¹ *Register of Oxford*, i., 298.

⁷² Boase, 194.

⁷³ Lee, *Shakespeare*, 224.

⁷⁴ *Scholemaster*, 139, (Arber ed.).

⁷⁵ Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, i., 88, (Bliss ed.).

⁷⁶ Pgs. 28-30.

⁷⁷ *Hamlet*, iii., 2.

⁷⁸ Schelling, *English Literature during the Lifetime of Shakespeare*, 45.

⁷⁹ Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, i., 85, 112-117; *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vi., Ch. xi.

dramatists, including Waldis, Stymmelius, Wickram and others of less importance.⁸⁰ As is pointed out in the discussion of the influence of Palsgrave's *Acolastus*,⁸¹ this translation seems to have introduced to English dramatists the Prodigal Son motif, which is used in *The Nice Wanton*, *The Disobedient Child*, *Misogonus*, *Glass of Government*, and *Histriomastix*; while the Prince Hal and Falstaff story shows the later adaptation of this material by a genius.

We may then summarize the influence of the School Drama on the Elizabethan drama by stating that it brought in the classic style and material of Terence, Plautus, and Seneca; provided a large number of the early English dramatists; developed the boys as actors and furnished the Prodigal Son material. This is a debt which we may well afford to recognize.

⁸⁰ Holstein, *Das Drama vom Verlorenen Sohn*; Schmidt, *Die Komödien vom Studentenleben*; Spengler, *Das Drama vom Verlorenen Sohn*. There is no discussion of this in English.

⁸¹ Ch. vi.; Brandl, *Quellen*, lxxviii.

CHAPTER IV

THE SCHOOL DRAMA IN GERMANY

Germany was the most fruitful soil for the School Drama; here Reuchlin, Wimpfeling and others began it in the fifteenth century; here its greatest representatives, Gnapheus, Macropedius, Frischlin and Sachs, wrote and taught; here its chief supporters, Luther, Melanchthon and Sturm, urged its use; here its sway continued long after the rise of the Elizabethan drama in England had practically ended the Latin School Drama there. The contribution which the English School Drama, in its somewhat meteoric development, made to our vernacular drama must be one of the principal claims upon which it demands our study; the German School Drama, however, demands attention for itself alone. It lasted fully two centuries, was one of the most characteristic pedagogic schemes of the German school reformers, became a weapon of the Reformation leaders, and gradually developed the popular vernacular drama of the people.

As in England, the German School Drama grew from the classic revival of the fifteenth century. This revival centered around the plays of Plautus and Terence, which received from the school reformers of that time praise so intense that it shocks us today. Reference has been made, in the preceding chapters, to the need which schoolmen felt of giving their pupils drill and practice in conversational Latin, which they found could best be gained through study of these two Latin dramatists. From the study of a play to its actual acting is but a step, and German schoolmasters made the change even earlier than did their English neighbors. German translations appeared early; in 1486 the *Eunuchus* of Terence was translated by Nythart; in 1499 Grünynger translated all the plays of Terence; in 1511 two of the Plautine comedies were put into German by Albrecht von Eyb;¹ and during the sixteenth century the translations were numerous. Many Latin editions of the plays also appeared, notably those of Melanchthon and Sturm.²

¹ Francke, *Terenz und die Latein Schulkomödie in Deutschland*, 35; Raché, *Die deutsche Schulkomödie*, II, 12.

² Jundt, *Die dramatischen Aufführungen im Gymnasium zu Strassburg*, 18.

The Hieronymians were probably the first German school teachers to use Plautus and Terence as texts; they soon learned their pedagogic value as school plays.³ Often trained in Italy, these teachers had an intense love for Latin and strove to give their pupils,—among whom were Erasmus, Thomas à Kempis and Gnapheus,—linguistic ability in this ancient tongue; hence their use of Latin dramas was one of the characteristic features of their method of education. By the early sixteenth century, however, every school in Germany of any importance had added the study of Terence and Plautus to its curriculum and usually also demanded that these comedies, or, later, neo-Latin imitations of them, be acted by the pupils. Francke, writing on Terence, and Reinhardstoettner⁴ on Plautus, both indicate that this custom was common to nearly all the schools of Germany. Plays that had the heartiest approval of such leaders as Erasmus, Luther, Melanchthon, Sturm, and Trotzendorf naturally found favor in the institutions which these men inspired and directed.⁵ One of the earliest actual performances of Terence was at Zwickau⁶ where, at a special celebration in 1518, *Eunuchus* was played, with a German farce between the acts of the Latin. Creizenach⁷ is wrong, however, in his statement that the Zwickau School Ordinance of 1523 is the first which demands the performance of Terentian comedies in the schools; the Nördlingen Ordinance of 1522 claims that title.⁸ Here the rector was directed to "expound Terence, in the first session, in the afternoon." At Zwickau many of the plays of both Plautus and Terence were to be learned by heart in the third class. Similar directions are given in the Eisleben School Ordinance of 1525, and in that of Nuremberg, 1526. Agricola was rector of the newly-founded Eisleben Latin School, and the use of these dramas there was doubtless due to the advice which Melanchthon gave him; Agricola wrote in 1536 (published 1543) a Latin-German edition of *Andria*; he promised to bring out more editions of the plays of Terence, but did not, possibly owing

³ Straumer, *Die Geschichte der Schulkomödie bei den Deutschen*, 13.

⁴ *Plautus*, Ch. 1.

⁵ Raché, 12.

⁶ Mertz, *Das Schulwesen der deutschen Reformation*, 296-7.

⁷ *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, ii., 91.

⁸ For School Ordinances on Terence and Plautus see: Raché, 12-15; Mertz, 347; Schmidt, *Die Bühnenverhältnisse des deutschen Schuldramas*, 8-10; Holstein, *Die Reformation im Spiegelbilde der dramatischen Litteratur*, Ch. 3; Janssen, *History of the German People*, xiii., 166-170; Creizenach, ii., 88-92.

to the criticism of Luther, who said that the Latin plays must remain in Latin, and not be spoiled by translation into uncouth and unadapted German. Melancthon also probably dictated the Nuremberg course of study, as the Gymnasium was in charge of two of his pupils. The famous Saxony School Plan, drawn up by this great preceptor of Germany, 1528, directs that the children learn by heart all of Terence, and the pure fables of Plautus. The Hamburg Ordinance of 1529, of which Luther's friend Bugenhagen was the probable author, approves the use of Terence, and orders "comedien spelen." At Wittenberg, in 1533, the highest class was directed to declaim Terence one day, and explain the grammatical constructions on the day following. At the university one hour on four days of the week was to be devoted to "Terenz-lektüre;" Frederick the Wise, a great lover of the Latin authors, had, in 1502, founded a professorship in Terence at this new university. In 1529 the students in the affiliated Pedagogium had performed one of Terence's comedies with much success. Frankfort-on-the-Main, in its Ordinance of 1537, directed that the third class study and use Terence. Sturm's famous Strassburg School Plan, of the following year, gives the fullest program for the use of Latin plays that we find anywhere in Germany; three classes were to perform these plays at least once every week. The duchy of Schleswig-Holstein, in its School Plan for 1542, recommended the reading of Terence; according to the custom of the time this would include some acting by the pupils as they read their parts.⁹ Similar orders are found in the School Plans of Düsseldorf, 1545, Goldberg, 1546, (drawn up by Trotzendorf), Magdeburg, 1553, Augsburg, 1553, Würtemberg, 1564, Breslau, 1570, (by which Terence is made the chief study of the second class, who are to be assigned parts in the plays, and act them, paying particular attention to pronunciation and gesture), Gandersheim, 1571, Wesel, 1585, and many others.¹⁰

The change from the reading and study of a drama to its presentation in true theatrical form was but a matter of a few years development. To have one boy read the part, while another student acted it in pantomime, must have seemed far inferior to combining the two, and dividing the task by assigning a different part to each boy, and having him both read, or recite, and act. This custom probably developed in the first half of the century, although many of the School

⁹ Thorndike, *Tragedy*, 37.

¹⁰ Consult *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogicae*, i., vi., viii.

Laws demanding it come later. The Zwickau Ordinance of 1523 is the first to prescribe the acting by the boys of the various parts; Hamburg, 1529 and 1537, Schleswig-Holstein, 1542, Güstrow, 1552, Magdeburg, 1553, Brandenburg, 1564, Breslau, 1570, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1579, Saxony, 1580, Brieg, 1581, and Nordhäusen, 1583—all of these School Ordinances insist not only upon the study and memorizing of Terence (and sometimes Plautus) but also on the actual performance of the plays. The Güstrow Ordinance says: "There shall also be acted every half year one Latin comedy from Plautus or Terence by the pupils in the school, so that the boys may learn good Latin." Breslau recommends acting "not only because the boys learned good pronunciation and gestures by this means, and good manners and morals were formed in them, but also because, as we who have taught long years in schools know from experience, those boys whom neither words nor rod could induce to study have been so roused and excited by the lively action of the characters in plays, that they have acquired quite a liking for study." At Nordhäusen German plays were also recommended; the burghers and the whole town might attend. The revised School Code at Saxony, 1580, directed that "the comedies of Terence and Plautus they (the teachers) shall cause the boys to perform throughout the year, and in this way accustom them to speak Latin with elegance." The Nordhäusen Ordinance directed that three days in Lent be given to dramatic performances in the school, one of Terence, and two in German, one being on a Biblical subject; the rector was to conduct rehearsals on Wednesdays, but not to allow the play to interfere with other school work.

The career of the School Drama at Leipsig may be taken as fairly typical of its use in the German schools of the sixteenth century.¹¹ In 1515 *Eunuchus* of Terence was played by the scholars, who received ten florins as a gift; on March 7, 1517, a comedy of Plautus, and in 1519 a comedy of Reuchlin's were performed before the City Council, which was renowned for its humanistic interest. Mosellanus, the classmate of Gnapheus and friend of Luther and Melanchthon, while teacher of Latin and Greek at the university, 1518, strongly urged the acting of Terence by his pupils, for it would "strengthen their minds and develop their characters." Performances were frequent from that time; in 1535 Euripides and Aristophanes were added

¹¹ Kaemmel, *Geschichte des Leipziger Schulwesens*, 15, 28, 138, 269; Holstein, 37.

to the Latin dramatists. The purpose of these presentations was that the scholars might learn correct pronunciation, develop their memory and gain oratorical ability. The rector also adapted parts of the New Testament for such dramatic performances. The Council contributed toward the acting of a Terentian comedy by the pupils of the Thomas-schule in 1555; this was on Shrove Tuesday, which later became the annual date for a School Play. Plays are recorded for 1591, 1603, 1606, 1611, 1614, usually at Easter time. This custom continued into the eighteenth century.

Magdeburg was the chief Reformation stronghold of Germany; the School Drama was urgently supported by the Reformation leaders, particularly Luther and Melanchthon, and eventually became almost a polemic drama of denunciation of the Catholics and anti-Lutherans. Hence we naturally find the School Drama prominent at Magdeburg.¹² Casper Cruciger, a pupil of Melanchthon, opened the Gymnasium in 1525, and carried out, during his brief rectorship, many of his great teacher's ideas, including those on the value of the School Drama. Georg Major, his successor, (1529-1536), was especially interested in these School Plays, and in 1534 took part with his scholars in one of the Magdeburg performances. His School Ordinances are lost, but we may be sure that he often made his boys act Latin and neo-Latin plays. Prätorius drew up a new course of study in 1553, which recommends School Plays as profitable in developing the pupil's character, increasing the interest in school work, and giving facility in Latin. Some plays in German also were given in the school. In a prologue of a 1561 play Salomonis refers to the school performances at Magdeburg, before the Council House, in the open air, and remarks upon the enjoyment of a large crowd, who appreciated the acting although the Latin was lost upon them. By this time the Magdeburg School Drama had become a public function, much like our modern Commencement exercises, when proud parents listen to the meaningless words of wisdom from their graduating sons. Georg Rollenhagen, a later rector, was well known as a dramatist; his *Abraham* was frequently acted. In an introduction to one of the editions of this play Rollenhagen refers to the Greek and Latin plays which had been presented at Magdeburg almost every year; he considers Terence the best for pupils to use, and quotes Erasmus' words of praise for this Latin dramatist. He says it is his wish and the aim of all his labors

¹² Holstein, 38-42; Raché, 22, 23; Janssen, xiii., 169.

that "Terence should stick like tar to the hands of the schoolboys." The School Ordinances and Statutes for his rectorship direct that comedies and tragedies in both Latin and German shall be presented. In 1592 his boys acted all six of the plays of Terence. In that year he wrote: "We have always read Terence in our schools, and also learned him by heart, and so often acted his plays on holiday afternoons that now nearly the whole school have him at their fingers' ends, and when called upon can recite or act to perfection any play that may be chosen."

Strassburg, however, was the real home of the German School Drama.¹³ This is chiefly due to the great impetus which Sturm gave; but both by its location and its relation to the Reformation the city was destined to be important in the development of this movement. Here we find all types of the School Drama represented, all materials used, plays in both Latin and the vernacular, polemic plays, and the pageants and vernacular drama of the people which were outgrowths of the School Drama. The first presentation dates back to 1512, when a play by Brants, called *Hercules am Scheideweg*, was produced in the Münster School. The next year saw the performance of another play, whose title we do not know, and probably such performances were fairly frequent until the school was moved in 1524. In 1529 the rector spoke of "the custom of playing comedies and tragedies." In 1538 three schools were combined, and the famous Gymnasium of Sturm was started, to continue under his direction for forty-five years. At the dedication of the new school the pupils presented a comedy, *Lazarus*, written by Sapidus, the teacher of the fourth class. For nearly half a century Sturm continued to use the School Drama as one of his chief pedagogic methods; often plays were presented every week in the school theatre. In March, 1580, just before Sturm was deposed, the School Ordinance directed that the School Plays, which for two years had been neglected, should be revived, and that the teachers must consider it part of their duty to direct and rehearse these plays. The Directors state that the Strassburg School Play had made the city famous throughout the world, and that students had come to the Gymnasium because of the fame of the Play; princes and emperors had seen the performances. For these reasons the Gymnasium appealed to the City Council for money to erect a stone stage, with tiers

¹³ Holstein, 42-44; Schmidt, 11; Raché, 16; Janssen, xiii., 169-170; Jundt, *Die Dramatischen Aufführungen im Gymnasium zu Strassburg*.

of seats arranged around it in amphitheatre fashion; but the request was not granted. In 1583 a wooden theater was erected, and its dedication in October was made a grand occasion; a comedy of Plautus was performed, the nine muses appeared to do glory to the city of Strassburg, the three graces sang the praises of the Gymnasium teachers, and the whole school recited verses "zu ehre Jesu Christi." In 1598, 1599, 1603, 1615, 1616 and 1617 there were plays by the scholars in honor of visiting palsgaves and dukes; the Strassburg play continued indeed until the Thirty Years War. Jundt¹⁴ catalogs the different plays performed between 1538 and 1621 as follows: seven ancient plays; two Greek; five Latin (many repetitions); twenty-seven School Plays, seventeen on Biblical subjects, of which only two are on New Testament incidents or characters, one on Church history, one on a romance, eight on "profangeschichtliche Stücke," of which six are on ancient history; and two German. Jundt also gives (page 28) two interesting pictures of the Strassburg Gymnasium of 1629 and 1634, in both of which is seen the "Theatrum"—an open court before a covered stage, similar to the Elizabethan theatres. Toward the last of the sixteenth century the Orations became more prominent; these enabled every boy to show his Latin ability, and could always be open to the public; gradually also the city dramatic performances gained in strength, and pageants and vernacular plays were performed in the Council Hall or market place, the school boy actors became part professionals, the didactic aim was entirely lost, and the public, having paid an admission fee, demanded plays that it could understand and enjoy. Gradually the Strassburg School Drama, like all others, died out.

The most amazing fact which strikes any student of the School Drama is that plays like those of Plautus and Terence should have even been permitted in the schools of that day; today their obscenities and immoralities would make them forbidden books to school boys; then they were text books; actions of meretrices and procurers, and speeches unprintable today, were reproduced by boys of six, or even by the schoolmasters themselves, who were held up as the ideals for boyish imitation.¹⁵ Standards have certainly changed in four centuries, and for the better. Even then in Germany, when almost every school boy was required by Statute to act such plays, and the leading

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 48.

¹⁵ Von Raumer, *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, i., 272.

Reformation divines placed their strongest approval upon them, there were some voices raised in protest. Some of the School Ordinances state that only "moral" plays from Plautus are to be used, and Sturm, in 1565, printed parts of six of Plautus' plays, which, he said in his preface, were respectable, although he admits that much of the author's work is indecent; Terence he approved in toto. Wimpfeling had long before raised his lonely protest against Terence, which, he urged, should be kept away from school boys. One of the earliest protests was contained in the School Ordinance of the Gymnasium of the Gray Cloister, which prohibited Terence, and condemned the other School Dramas for their immorality. By 1589 Terence had been banished from the Latin School at Memmingen, and a pupil wrote his grandfather: "Even if Terence, as you say, contains much that is charming, there is much in him also that is very filthy and scandalous, so that he helps more to the corruption than to the implanting and building up of good morals." The last decade of the century, when the commendations of Luther, Melancthon and Sturm had less effect, must have heard many protests at these immoralities. When Marburg school men objected that it was unseemly for boys in school to act the parts of public prostitutes, a professor at the university, Rudolf Goclenius, answered: "It is not unseemly for men to impersonate public women, when the object is to show up the vices of these women; it is only indecorous to put on the habits, not the clothes, of a prostitute." There must have been many then, as there are now, who doubted such an argument. In 1602 Junglinghausen, rector of the Gymnasium of St. Andrews, Hildesheim,¹⁶ objected very strongly to the custom of scholars producing such immoral plays. One of his pupils, Joachim Oppermann, wrote in his diary that the fruits of these plays were drink, bad company, over-eating, immoral lives, disobedient scholars, unfaithful husbands, imprisoned scholars, school work neglected, examinations unpassed, no memory training, time wasted on rehearsals and making of costumes, money wasted on stage setting, scepters, crowns and so on, energy wasted on the whole performance; therefore Oppermann urged that School Plays be stopped. Such protests among Protestants are, however, few and far between; the Jesuits had a much keener moral sense, and prohibited the acting of any immoral play by their boys.¹⁷ The depths of indecency to

¹⁶ Fischer, *Geschichte des Gymnasium Andreanum*, 13-14.

¹⁷ Ch. v.

which the neo-Latin and vernacular plays, most of which were written for school use, finally sank, is suggested later. The age was rough and crude—witness the incidents in Platter's autobiography—and the moral sense which our generation prides itself upon, sometimes unduly, had not fully developed; there was frankness without prudery; today we have prudery without frankness. Furthermore, as has been suggested, the Latin comedies of Plautus and Terence furnished exactly the training in conversational Latin which that age desired, and which the other ancient authors could not offer; they were, seemingly, the only means to aid the scholars toward their goal. One final explanation of the sway of these immoral plays in the schools is seen in the hearty approval which the three religious and scholastic leaders of the century accorded to Plautus and Terence, for Luther, Melancthon and Sturm were the most vigorous supporters of the German School Drama.

Luther may have taken part in school plays at Eisenach or Erfurt; at least he was well acquainted with them and their aims.¹⁸ He recommends all kinds of plays except Passion Plays, for it seemed to him that no man should try to enact the sufferings of Christ; his most cordial approval falls upon the Latin plays, rather than the vernacular, and he disapproved of the translation into German of Plautus and Terence. His views on this topic are chiefly found in his correspondence and *Table Talk*. On February 16, 1525, at Wittenberg, he invited his friend Spalatin to accompany him on the following Sunday evening to see "einem Komödienspiele der Studententen" which was to be given in the Augustine Cloister; the friend is directed to bring a reward for the young actors. On April 2, 1530, he wrote to Hausmann, in Zwickau, expressing the wish that Christ's deeds might be acted in Latin or German plays in every school. His famous letter to Dr. Cellarius, who wrote him asking advice about the use of School Plays in Dresden, follows: "The acting of comedies must not be forbidden to boys at school, but allowed and encouraged; first because it is good exercise for them in the Latin language, and secondly because in comedies which are artistically constructed, written and represented those persons by whom the world is instructed, and indeed every individual in turn, will be reminded of the duties of his office and station, and of what is becoming for a servant, a gentleman, for young

¹⁸ Raché, 8-10; Schmidt, 6-7; Reinhardtstoettner, 32-33; Straumer, 17; Holstein, 18-25, 33.

fellows and for the old, and what they all ought to do. Besides which in these plays we find written down and described the cunning tricks and the frauds of bad people; also what are the duties of parents and children; how children and young people are to be attracted to matrimony when they are of a suitable age, and kept faithful to it; how children are to be obedient to their parents and how they are to carry on courtship. And Christians must not altogether shun plays, because there are sometimes coarseness and adulteries in them; for that reason they would have to give up the Bible also. Therefore this is no argument against the plays, and no reason for forbidding Christians to read and act them."¹⁹ In his *Table Talk* of May 29, 1538, he defends the plays on much the same ground, explaining that the immoral element is in life anyway, and justifying a play which holds a mirror up to life. Yet he warned teachers that Terence and the Bible should be used in a different manner, for different ends. He urges that Bible matter be adapted into religious plays; in his translation of the Old Testament and Apocrypha, 1534, he says: "The books of *Judith* and *Tobias* were nothing more than fine poems and dramas; the Jews had a great many such, and performed them for the instruction and edification of the people. The text of *Susanna*, of *Bel*, *Habakkuk*, and the *Dragon* was like beautiful religious poetry, as were *Judith* and *Tobias*." From Luther's recommendation grew the extensive German religious drama, on Biblical themes. In 1543 he wrote to Count Georg von Anhalt, at Dessau, urging the value of School Plays, particularly upon subjects taken from the Bible. Luther's attitude toward these plays, whether of Plautus and Terence, or the later ones with less immorality and more scriptural setting, is thus evident; he held that they were valuable for every school boy, to train him in Latin, and to develop his character.²⁰

Melanchthon, the great preceptor of Germany, agreed with Luther on the question of the School Drama.²¹ He had learned Terence at the school at Pforzheim, as a boy of ten, and had also taken part in the dramatic presentations of his work. While there he first learned and acted the *Henno* of Reuchlin, his grandmother's brother, who

¹⁹ Translated from *Luther's Table Talk*, Förstemann, iv., 592-593.

²⁰ Consult: DeWette, *Luther-Briefe*, ii., 626, iii., 566, v., 105, 553; Walch, *Luthers Sämtliche Schriften*, xiv., 83, 89, 92; *Corp. Ref.*, v., 86.

²¹ Holstein, 25-31; Raché, 11; Straumer, 15-16; Barnard, *German Teachers*, 162, 164, 170.

took an interest in the young scholar, and Latinized his German name, Schwarzerd, (black earth). Melanchthon's teacher in this school published an edition of *Henno* with a commentary. His devotion to Terence continued; in 1516 he produced a metrical translation of the Latin author, which was expanded in the edition of 1525. In the preface to this second edition Melanchthon refers to Terence as more worthy than any other author to be put in the hands of schoolboys. Terence, he said, was better than all the rest, "first, because his pieces are free from obscenities, and secondly, because they are more rhetorical. I advise all educationalists to recommend this author urgently to the study of the young, for he appears to me better adapted than most philosophical writers to form in the young a right judgment of the world. And no other author teaches greater purity of expression, nor accustoms the boys to a method of speech which can stand them in such good stead." In his private school, which he opened at Wittenberg in 1521, Terence was the chief subject of Latin study; he had his boys present the comedies of Terence, Plautus, Euripides and Seneca. He wrote the prologues for these performances, and many are still extant. Writing, January 22, 1525, to his friend Camerarius, he refers to one of these prologues to a "ludus scenici." He considered these plays of special value (in addition to the Latin drill) in developing the ability of the boys to study and understand characters, and correctly portray them on the stage; to help the students he sometimes took part himself in the plays. The moral value of such dramatic productions, which show the rewards of vice and virtue, appealed to Melanchthon as it did to Luther. In 1528 he drew up his famous *Visitation Articles*, in which he recommends the plays of Terence, and the "harmless" plays of Plautus, for the children who are learning their Latin grammar; Terence is to follow Aesop. The third group of children, who are ordered to speak Latin only, are to play Latin dramas suitable for them. When, later, the orations by the scholars gradually superseded these dramatic performances, Melanchthon's *Orations* were frequently used. The Preceptor, again like Luther, urged the performance of plays on Biblical themes, but forbade Passion Plays, chiefly because of the death of four men in one of these plays, whereby it was believed that God had set His mark of disapproval on these dramatizations. Melanchthon, furthermore, inspired some of the best School Dramas which were written in Germany during the century. In 1545 his pupil Stymmel wrote *Studentes*,

a Terentian comedy of school life, which was twice played before Melanchthon in Wittenberg, to his great pleasure. The 1576 edition contains three letters from him praising the play. His chief influence in developing the educational system of Germany is seen in the *School Ordinances*, many written by him, others by his pupils, and a number formed from suggestions contained in his correspondence. The important place of the School Drama in these Ordinances has already been shown; much of this, undoubtedly, was due to Philip Melanchthon.²²

Sturm's influence was felt principally in one place, Strassburg.²³ His education, like Melanchthon's, had included acting in the School Drama, probably in the school of the Hieronymians; he tells us that he took the part of Geta in Terence's *Phormio* as a boy of fifteen. The School Drama appealed to him, when he became rector of the Strassburg Gymnasium, 1538, as a splendid means of training boys in Latin and strengthening their characters, though, being a typical humanist, and a vigorous opponent of the vernacular in the school, he aimed first at the Latin training. For this reason, largely, very few neo-Latin or German plays, on secular or Biblical subjects, were presented on the Strassburg stage; Walther's *Nabal*, played 1562, is one of these. Plautus, Terence, Euripides and Seneca were the authors most used. The high value placed upon these performances is shown by the fact that Sturm urged Strassburg's dramatic success as one of the chief claims of his school upon the favor of Maximilian. He surpassed all other German educators in the systematic plan for the presentation of plays in his school. In the *Classic Letters* of 1578, which give his course of study, the three upper classes are to have regular dramatic performances. Later the fourth class was included, and Sturm could boast that boys of six acted in Latin plays at Strassburg. In the *School Inspection Statutes* of 1565 he had ordered the teachers of the upper classes to study, with the boys, the plays they were to act, and to strive for as finished a production as possible. Much was to be left to the initiative of the boys themselves, who were to be spurred on to harmless rivalry in the perfecting of their parts. The parts

²² Consult: *Werke*, xi., 151, (Augs. ed.); Koch, *Melanchthons Schola Privata*, 32, 56, 67-81; *Corp. Ref.*, xx., 70, xix., 657, v., 467, i., 722.

²³ Jundt, 16-28; Straumer, 14-15; Holstein, 42; Herford, 102; Raché, 16-17; Janssen, xiii., 169; Barnard, 204, 205, 206, 217, 218, 221; Schmidt, *Geschichte der Erziehung*, ii., 363, v., pt. 1, 1-59.

were to be divided among the boys; each was to have some share, and the long parts were to be given to more than one boy, in order that none should be too heavily taxed. Plautus, Terence and Aristophanes were to be acted; Strassburg initiated the acting of Greek plays in Germany. Some latitude was given to the scholars in choosing the plays. It was Sturm's desire that the theatre in the school should never be idle for a week, and that all of Plautus and Terence should be acted each half year. Another suggestion which he made to his teachers was that the school be divided into *decuria*, and each have its own plays; thus more boys would take part, and the performances would be more frequent. In the *Classic Letters* Sturm wrote the following to his teachers: "To Boschius, teacher of the third class: the comedies of Plautus and Terence are to be acted, and the boys are to try to surpass the upper classes; to Renard, second class: the scholars in this class are to act with greater perfection and, later, they are to try a play of Aristophanes, Euripides or Sophocles, which the teacher shall first expound to them, afterwards, they may act any they wish; to Goelius, first class: every week a play is to be performed, and much attention should be given to the delineation of character." By this process Sturm hoped that German boys might eventually grow as proficient in Latin as the Roman youth, who however, had "the great advantage of hearing Latin always, and often seeing Latin tragedies and comedies acted." He wished to "call up Plautus, Terence and Cicero from the shades, to talk Latin with the boys." This program of a play a week, however, was too much for the boys, who objected to the daily practice at the expense of their play-time; accordingly the rector changed his demand to a play a month; but, again, in 1568, the students said too much of their time was taken by these plays. In 1572 the practice was extended over a larger period, and there was only one play every half year; more boys, including the youngest, were enrolled in the productions, which were somewhat like a pageant. By this time the Strassburg play had gradually become more of a city than a school function; the Council and their wives attended; gradually the public was admitted, and the play moved to the City Hall or the church or market place. In 1565 Sturm's request for the use of the church was refused, and the play was performed out of doors on the campus much the fashion of the Coburn players of today. The boys took part in the city pageants, and the Council paid part of the expenses of the School Play. Sturm was called upon to write a Ger-

man play on a Biblical subject, for the people grew tired of listening to dramas in a foreign tongue; although he promised to write it, we have no record of the play. As the language changed from Latin to German, the place from the school theatre to the market place, and the audience from scholars only to the general public, the early didactic purpose of the Strassburg School Play was lost, and it became merely a spectacle, generally on a religious subject, with scholars and townspeople joined as actors, and the City Council supporting the production. The plays were generally held on the Tuesday after Easter, instead of every Thursday afternoon; the luxury of the production increased, and the old School Play vanished. In its place, at the time of promotion from one class to a higher, came the orations, which are still a feature of our Commencement exercises. As the city plays developed, outside authors and actors were employed, and the religious drama, which was so popular in Germany during the seventeenth century, resulted.

Although Plautus and Terence were defended by such leaders as Luther, Sturm and Melanchthon, a neo-Latin, and, later, a vernacular, School Drama developed. Schoolmasters who felt the inappropriateness of these immoral plays, and who were fired with Reformation ideas, soon began to write Latin plays in Terentian style on Biblical subjects. The principal dramatic productions of Germany during the sixteenth century were such School Dramas. Imitations of Terence had begun in the preceding century, before the Reformation suggested Biblical material.²⁴ Wimpfeling probably wrote the first imitation, *Stylpho*, a prose drama, played by boys at Heidelberg in 1470 while the author was still a student there; the Terentian influence is not strong, and the play is really a student's jeu d'esprit. Reuchlin, in 1498, produced *Sergius*, which was withdrawn because of objections to its unsavory attack on relic mongers; the epoch-making *Henno* soon followed, and showed, for the first time, how a modern comedy subject, of healthy tone and moral plot, could effectively be made the basis of a Latin play, which might be performed by school boys. Reuchlin promised in his prologue:

"Non hic erit lasciviæ aut libidini,
Meretriciæ aut tristi senum curæ locus
Sed histrionum exercitus et scommata."

This was one of the most popular of the neo-Latin School Plays in

²⁴ Herford, *Literary Relations of England and Germany*, Ch. iii.

Germany. The anonymous *Codrus*, now known only in manuscript, was the earliest of the comedies of school life, which became so popular as an outgrowth of the Prodigal Son dramas. The latter, fostered chiefly by two Netherlanders, Gnapheus and Macropedius, are examples of Biblical material treated in the style of Terence; there were plays galore upon this theme. The Old Testament characters also furnished material for Latin School Plays; Luther was very emphatic in his commendations of these dramas, which taught the boys Latin, gave them Biblical history, and developed their characters. The *Joseph*, of Crocus, 1535, is one of the earliest. Although a Jesuit, Crocus served as a model for numerous Protestant School dramatists, notably Gart and von Rüte. At Strassburg the plays of Brülow and Calamnius attained much popularity. The *Terentius Christianus*, of Schonæus, another Dutch schoolmaster, was an attempt to Christianize Terence; it had a tremendous vogue in both Germany and England. Schronæus also wrote Latin dramas on Joseph, Susanna, Judith and other Old Testament characters.²⁵

In developing the School Drama two elements entered: the classic element, which aimed at the spread of Latin speech, and which was represented by Plautus and Terence and their numerous imitators; and the pageant element, a relic of the Fastnachtsspiele, and other religious festivals. The Reformation, attacking ceremonies, wiped out all such productions, but they had won favor in the popular mind for so long that some substitute seemed necessary. Accordingly we find the School Drama gradually becoming more of a public spectacle with less of the scholastic element and more of the pageant style. This opportunity commended itself strongly to the German dramatists, who, instead of writing School Plays, composed religious dramas, which were first presented in the schools but later drew away to the more public City Halls, and continued, during the seventeenth century, as city presentations, with little relation to the schools. The pedagogic aim was now entirely lacking, but the School Drama must be given credit for aiding in the development of this religious drama.²⁶ In these plays often three hundred characters were employed; like the old mystery plays they frequently lasted for three or four days, and

²⁵ Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii., 143; Francke, *Terenze und die Latein Schulkomödie in Deutschland*, 70.

²⁶ Creizenach, *Geschichte der neueren Dramas*, ii., 109-121; Janssen, xii., Ch. i.

the audiences were numbered by the thousands. The popularity of the Passion Plays, even in the face of the objections of Luther and Melancthon, indicates the hold which these productions had upon the German people. Scholars, clergy, guilds and public officials participated; sometimes the actors were paid; often the Council contributed toward the expenses and loaned the properties for the production. Hans Sachs, teacher and poet of Görlitz, was probably the most prolific dramatist of Bible material; he is said to have turned half the Scriptures into plays, of which he wrote nearly a hundred and fifty.²⁷ Practically all the kings from Saul to the time of Daniel became heroes in some one of these tiresome plays, which, it would seem, must have bored both the players and the audience. In Munich these dramas were particularly popular; Ziegler, rector of the Gymnasium about 1550, composed plays on such subjects as Isaac, Herod, the Ten Virgins, and his pupils, aided often by amateur actors from the city, presented them in public. Another schoolman, Edelpöck, writing on the birth of Christ, said that by such presentations "the common people would be instructed in a sight knowledge of Holy Writ, for what is seen by the eye is much more strongly impressed on the hearts and minds of simple folk than what is only heard by the ear. Many a pious heart might derive no small consolation from this play; young people inclined to all sorts of sin and vice would recognize in it a mirror of their defects, and the old would learn from it their neglect in the education of the young." This pious ideal of the author is hardly carried out in the play, in which sacred characters are made very earthly. Joseph, before departing for Egypt, refuses to leave until his flask is taken, and Mary herself does not seem to be unacquainted with wine. This same lack of decorum characterizes many of the German religious dramas. The apostles, in Schmeltzl's School Play of 1542, all have their ever-ready flasks, yet his seven Biblical dramas are far less vulgar than most of those written during this age. Although Rebhun, the schoolmaster at Kahla, wrote his *Susanna* for his boys to play in order that they might "be stimulated to what is good," it could not be put upon the stage today. Julius, of Brunswick, later treated the same Biblical material in the most obscene manner, yet the court, which witnessed the play, accorded it great praise. Joseph, first dramatized by Crocus, was another popular character for religious dramas; Potiphar's wife is usually pictured in far too seductive

²⁷ Holstein, 70.

colors, and the way in which Voigt, a Lutheran pastor at Drubeck, writing for school presentation, describes the scene between Joseph and Potiphar's wife is unquotable. One wonders what moral result must have come to the boy or burgher who took these unseemly parts. No wonder Prætornis, rector at Nuremberg in 1574, considered that these plays hurt the boys far more than they helped them.

The Reformation contributed a polemic theme to the School Drama. Attacks upon Catholics, and, later, upon anti-Lutherans, frequently formed the material for these plays; in rather marked contrast the Jesuit drama usually avoided such methods in its plays. We have already seen that one of the earliest School Dramas in England was an attack upon Luther.²⁸ The first treatment of the Prodigal Son story in German, by Waldis, simply uses the Bible material as a cloak for bitter polemics. The tragic career of Frischlin indicates the sway of satire and invective in the life and literature of the time. A University professor at 20, a writer and a fighter, who was dashed to death in trying to escape from prison after a brief success as a teacher, he left as his principal contribution to the German drama a variety of plays in which his opponents, religious and intellectual, are lampooned. *Julius Redivivus*, a play of Cæsar's impressions upon visiting Germany, is probably his best known work.²⁹ The greatest of all these polemical satirists, Kirchmayer, wrote his terrible *Pammachius*, 1538, for "the good of the tender innocent young;" his play of 1545 abusing the Pope was "for the benefit of the dear children." Six Birck, the Augsburg schoolmaster, wrote against the Catholics in many of his plays on Biblical subjects. In 1560, at the Strassburg Gymnasium of Sturm a tragedy was acted which attacked all those who did not follow the Lutheran faith. Frischlin, who should be numbered among the chief dramatists of the period, occupied nearly all of his Latin comedy, *Phasma* (acted in 1580 at Tübingen, where he was then a Latin professor), with a defense of the Lutheran doctrine; every other faith is regulated to hell as the work of the devil. Luther and Zwingli were characters in the drama.

As these plays became popularized and no longer simply school productions, the audience demanded that German be used in place of Latin. Although Luther and Melancthon opposed vernacular plays, and Sturm was criticized for his exclusive devotion to the Latin com-

²⁸ Pg. 23.

²⁹ Herford, 79; Strauss, *Frischlin's Leben und Schriften*.

edies, gradually the pleas of the people prevailed, and a vernacular drama developed, at first largely religious and polemic. Indeed, the audience began to be quite dictatorial as to the plays which it would witness. The most sacred religious themes were often enjoyed only for their "jokes and buffoonery, their excitement, scuffling and laughter." Rollenhagen, rector at Magdeburg, complains in his *Lazarus* that the common people often behaved in a rowdy manner, even upsetting the actors, and breaking benches and tables, and insulting and threatening the performers. Wickram, in *Tobias*, 1551, starts his play by a plea to the audience to keep quiet, and Schlays, in *Joseph*, 1593, used the same plea, but intensified it. In the face of these objections, the dramatists who desired to please the crowd soon adopted the vernacular; many of the plays of Frischlin, Sachs, and the other later school dramatists are in German.

The demand for vernacular plays served the schoolmen one good purpose: it brought in money.³⁰ Although these plays no longer gave training in Latin speaking, and only served in a small degree for development of character or improvement in pronunciation, this new aim commended itself to the ill-paid teachers of that age. If the people would not have Latin plays, and would have, and pay for, German plays, the natural result was that German plays were written and performed. In many cases the City Council contributed a sum to the teacher for producing these plays; gradually this became a fixed part of his salary; from 1607 on the Lüneberg Council, for instance, gave about five dollars for each play. The boys also received gifts for their part in the performance. Eventually this became such a custom that the money and gifts were forth-coming even if the play, for some good reason, had to be omitted. Later, admission fees were charged, or voluntary contributions received from the audience at the door. At Ulmer these fees are referred to as early as 1552-3; in Saxony, 1580, it was decided that the presents for the boy actors be given chiefly to those who were poor; one half of the entire sum was to go to them, and the other half to the teachers. The opportunity of making money by dramatic performances appealed to men outside the schools, and in 1580, at Königsberg, the school masters were forced to urge that the City Council limit these productions to the school only, but the request was not granted and professional actors and companies gradually took the place of the school boys managed by their masters.

³⁰ Schmidt, 13-15.

In the face of this demand for the presentation of vernacular plays, a demand backed by the all-powerful clink of money, only a few schoolmasters remained true to the Latin plays. Gigas, rector at Schulpforta, demanded that "only Latin plays, especially those of Terence, should be acted." At Ulm, in 1585, there were protests against the rector, who introduced the acting of German plays. An injunction from the magistrate at Munich prohibited the rector of St. Peter's School from acting any but Latin plays, "in order that the young might be benefited by the acting." At Mecklenburg, in 1552, German plays were to be acted by the school boys only when the Duke gave special permission. Occasionally we discover a School Ordinance which forbids German plays, but the majority of them, at least by the end of the century, decree that both Latin and German dramas be enacted by the scholars. The Jesuit dramas, however, were almost always in the ancient tongue, and there were enough schoolmen who loved Latin, and wrote in it, and made their pupils act Latin plays, to keep the Latin drama alive in Germany long after it had vanished from England, except for an occasional University Play.

An interesting picture of the German School Drama in the middle of the sixteenth century is given in the diary of Felix Platter, the son of the famous schoolmaster:³¹ "There was a play acted in the college, *The Resurrection of Christ*; my father's boarders made a number of fools, and there were also devils' clothes among the stage properties. . . . On June 6, 1546, the play, *The Conversion of Paul*, made by Valentin Boltz, was performed in the corn market. The burgomaster of Brun was Saul, Balthasar Han was the Lord God in a round heaven, hanging over the stage, out of which there flashed a furious rocket, which, as Saul fell from his horse, set fire to his hose. Rudolf Fry was the captain; he had about 100 burghers under his banner, all wearing his colors. The thunder was made in heaven with barrels filled with stones and rolled over. Long before Ulrich Coccus had played the *Susanna* in the fish market. The wooden platform was on the fountain, to which a tin case, in which Susanna washed herself, had been adapted. My father played in the school the *Hippocrisis*, in which I was one of the Graces. They dressed me in Herwagen's daughter Gertrude's clothes, which were too long for me, and in going about through the town I could not hold them up, so they were greatly damaged. The affair went off very well, but the rain came at last and

³¹ Boos ed., 143-144.

spoiled the play. They often held plays in the Crypt of the Augustinians' churches. Whenever the new rector gave the meal, the students invited him with fifes and drums into the hostel, with the Regent, and a comedy was acted. Those which I saw in this manner were, first, the *Resurrection of Christ*, secondly, *Zacchaeus*, a comedy which Dr. Pantaleon wrote and acted, thirdly, the comedy of *Haman*; when the executioner was going to hang the Son of Haman, the latter made a false step, and so remained suspended, and if the hangman had not at once cut the rope he would have been strangled; he had a red mark around his neck in consequence."

The two fundamental aims of the German School Drama were common to the School Drama of all countries: to develop power in conversational Latin, and to train in pronunciation and gesture.³² Luther added a moral aim of developing the boys' character, by seeing life as in a mirror and actually beholding the right performance of duty. Many schoolmen recognized in the School Drama a means of interesting the boys in their school work, and stirring up wholesome rivalry. Not only did it train in pronunciation and gesture, it also gave the future orator pose and a good stage presence. It stocked his head with Latin phrases and idioms, which would be valuable in later life. Finally, in many cases it helped to pay the meager salary of the teacher. At Strassburg at least it seems to have developed in the boys some knowledge and love for dramatic art and poetry, and an ability to delineate characters. Even if all of these aims were not accomplished, at least the School Drama must be considered an important part of the school practice in Germany during the sixteenth century.

The School Drama also made a marked contribution to the German drama. Through it came the classic influence, which, while probably not as far reaching as in English dramatic history, certainly did much to mould the early German dramatic performances. It became the tool of the Reformation, and developed the polemic drama which so strongly appealed to the Teutonic mind. Combining with the older religious festivals, it produced the religious drama. It supplied the earliest actors and dramatists. From both the pedagogic and dramatic standpoints the School Drama deserves attention in any study of early German school methods or literary history.

³² Jundt, 11; Schmidt, 15-19; Straumer, 7; *Geschichte des deutschen Volksschullehrerstandes*, 33.

CHAPTER V

THE JESUIT SCHOOL DRAMA

The Jesuits furnish the best example of the use of the School Drama as an educational method. No teachers have clung so tenaciously to Latin, none have striven more sincerely to make every part of their instruction a moral stimulus to the scholar, and few have found such pedagogic value in the splendor and pomp which soon characterized the School Drama in Germany. Paulsen quotes the leading authority on Jesuit school history when he says that two volumes could be filled with accounts of Jesuit School Plays. They extend from 1539, or earlier, until the present day; the Passion Play of Oberammergau is but an outgrowth of the Jesuit School Drama, and today, in Montreal and elsewhere, Latin School Plays are acted in the Jesuit Colleges. Every country which felt the influence of the Jesuit movement had its Jesuit School Drama.¹ At the time when Protestants were commending the immoral plays of Terence and Plautus, and demanding in their School Ordinances that their scholars act these questionable parts, the Jesuits were taking a very different attitude. The first *Ratio Studiorum* of the Order prohibited the reading of any classical work which contained obscenities, until it was expurgated; Plautus and Terence were expressly mentioned; Jesuit teachers tried to prepare editions which contained only matter proper for the youth.² The *Ordinance* of 1540 stated that Jesuit teachers "were to abstain as much as possible from using as text books Greek and Latin works likely to have an injurious effect upon the young."³ The *Plan of Study* for 1599 urged that every Provincial take care that "books by poets and other authors that might injure good morals should be kept

¹ On the Jesuit School Drama consult: Baumgartner, *Geschichte des Weltliteratur*, iv., 623-637; Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, i., 358, 418; Janssen, *History of the German People*, xiii., 185-208; Schwickerath, *Jesuit Education*, 164-171; Duhr, *Die Studienordnung des Gesellschaft Jesu*, 136-144; Rochemonteix, *Collège de Jésuits aux 17-18 Siecle*, iii., 189-206, 215-353; Pachtler, *Ratio Studiorum et Institutiones Scholasticae Societate Jesu*, Vols. i., ii., iii., iv.; *Catholic World*, i., 577-786; *Cyclopedia of Education*, iii., 361.

² Pachtler, i., 153.

³ *Ibid.*, i., 58.

out of the schools until they had been purged of unclean matter and language; if this was impossible, as with Terence, it would be better for them to remain unread, rather than that the nature of their contents should stain the purity of the boys."⁴ Attempts to expurgate Terence, or prepare "Terentian formulæ" seem to have been rather unsuccessful; Terence does not appear at all in the early curricula or lists of school books.⁵ It is not until 1622 that Terence is referred to as a possible model for Jesuit School Plays.⁶

The dramatic element in Jesuit education is not confined to the School Drama. All their class room exercises were dramatic; the division of the class into two parties—Greek and Trojan, or East and West—and the questioning and answering back and forth made their elementary instruction serve as a natural preparation for the later actual dramatic performances. There were frequent oral "disputationes" between these two sides, even in the lowest classes. In the student societies or "academies" debates were popular, often upon dialectical and theological questions. These, and the "concertations" between the two "camps," served to make supremely important the oral, semi-dramatic method of instruction.

The Jesuit School Drama responded much later than the Protestant to the demand that performances be given in the vernacular. The rules of 1557 stated that "plays were to be exclusively in Latin;"⁷ the *Ratio* of 1599 also decreed that Latin alone was to be used.⁸ Gradually, however, the vernacular grew in favor, and by 1700 a majority of the plays were in German or French.⁹ When Latin plays were given, a synopsis was often distributed among the people, sometimes at a small charge; in one or two instances there were productions in both languages, first a scene in German, followed by the same scene in Latin.¹⁰ In France French plays were common in Jesuit School theaters by 1679, although Latin continued to be the language of the chief performances.¹¹ In the 1832 *Rules* for the resurrected Order,

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii., 263.

⁵ Pachtler, i., 213, 231, 317; Duhr, 188.

⁶ Pachtler, iv., 205.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i., 129.

⁸ *Ibid.*, ii., 272-3.

⁹ Duhr, 136; Raché, 24.

¹⁰ Raché, 24, 25.

¹¹ Rochemonteix, 190.

vernacular plays were officially approved, although Latin was still preferred.¹²

The low moral tone of the Protestant School Drama was seldom found in School Drama of the Jesuits. Nearly every reference to their plays insisted that they be "respectable" and "decorous."¹³ A large majority of them (in the early years, practically all) were on Biblical subjects. In every case no play was to be performed unless the master had approved it.¹⁴ Holstein, Francke and Reinhardtstöttner, in discussing the School Drama, all point out this striking difference between the Protestant and Jesuit; one sank as the other rose. Although the Jesuits used their plays for a religious and moral purpose, they would not permit them, as did the Protestants, to be performed in church.¹⁵ Nor were church vestments, or ceremonies, or hymns to be permitted in these productions.¹⁶ In the early *Rules* female roles of all kinds were prohibited, for fear that the boys who took such parts might be harmed.

Still another point of contrast is found in the fact that the Jesuit School Drama very seldom stooped to invectives against non-Catholics.¹⁷ When scores of the Lutheran religious School Plays were filled with the bitterest vituperation, it is remarkable that the Jesuits, who commanded nearly as large a following, and whose plays were more popular with the general public, did not sink to the depths of replying "in kind." The few examples of polemic Jesuit plays are those which attacked the Jensenists in France, who violently opposed the use of the drama in education.¹⁸

In their use of material, again, the Jesuits showed an attitude toward the School Drama different from that held by the Protestants. When the latter were producing plays on secular themes, often immoral in their treatment, with the pleasure of their audience as their aim, the Jesuits continued for some decades to confine their plays almost exclusively to Biblical subjects, treated in a highly moral manner, with a very definite ethical and religious aim. The chief sources for these plays were Bible characters, Old Testament incidents, and

¹² Pachtler, iv., 388, 413, 479.

¹³ *Ibid.*, i., 129, ii., 273, iv., 208.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, ii., 278, iii., 343, 344, iv., 186, 208.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, i., 129.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, i., 274, ii., 273.

¹⁷ Reinhardtstöttner, *Zur Geschichte des Jesuitendramas in München*, 59.

¹⁸ Rochemonteix, 198.

stories of the early Church Fathers. These latter, with the legends that had grown up around them, continued for centuries to be the basis of Jesuit School Dramas of unusual beauty, often even touching and morally ennobling.¹⁹ In the seventeenth century secular themes were used, but with a moral aim; plays were even acted upon events of history, such as the Peace of Ryswick. Jouvancy, regretting this tendency, wrote in his *Text Book* on education for the use of all Jesuit schools: "Any pieces produced in the school theater, any plots of plays written, should be religious in tone, and be drawn from sacred history of the past, rather than from profane."²⁰

A further point of partial contrast may be noted between Protestant and Jesuit School Dramas. At Strassburg and many other Protestant schools, these productions were frequent; in the Jesuit schools they were held rarely, on special occasions; they were never to interfere with, but merely to supplement the class-room work. All of the early *Rules* refer to having these plays produced "rarissime" or "sehr selten."²¹ The 1560-61 regulations of the German province, which permitted two plays a year, are, accordingly, unusual.²² The *Statutes* of 1832 advise that these plays be performed only rarely. When, in 1560, the religious comedy presented by the College at Prague had been repeated three times, to satisfy the thousands who wished to see it, the rector finally had to silence the petitions by pointing out that the Society only wished to exhibit comedies occasionally, and had other work to do. The usual time for these presentations was in the spring (after the examinations), or the fall; the occasion corresponded somewhat to our Commencement. The *Rules* for 1664, for the Province of the Rhein, decreed the exact date and procedure.²³ Furthermore, dramas which required a long time in producing were not at first permitted; the 1593 *Rules* limit the length of these School Plays to four hours.²⁴

The aim of both the Protestant and Jesuit School Drama was fundamentally much the same; each strove to develop, by this means, the pupil's ability in Latin, his oratorical powers, and thereby to improve his character. The Jesuits held much more closely to these aims.

¹⁹ Paulsen, i., 418.

²⁰ Corcoran, *Studies in the History of Classical Teaching*, 177.

²¹ Pachtler, i., 129, 274, ii., 273, iv., 143, 474.

²² *Ibid.*, i., 167-8.

²³ *Ibid.*, iii., 399.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, i., 313.

Their dramas served to give to the pupils training in actual eloquent delivery. But more important was the moral aim. School Dramas served as a warning against bad morals, and as an example for good morals; sin was made hateful, and virtue easy. Even in the treatment of secular material the Jesuit dramatists made the plot teach a moral lesson; comic scenes were to satirize the foibles of life, but even there no vulgar jesting was permitted; tragic scenes were to warn and instruct. Again, these public presentations gave parents an opportunity of actually seeing what their sons had accomplished; the *Ratio* of 1586 expressly mentions this purpose of the School Drama.²⁵ The Jesuits considered healthy rivalry a much stronger motive than the fear of punishment; and the School Drama furnished the boys with an excellent opportunity of vieing with one another in the perfecting of their memory, and the presentation of their parts. The 1602-3 *Rules* at Antwerp state that often boys will be spurred on to do the seemingly impossible, by use of "sacris comœdiis." Prizes were publicly awarded to those who had done the best. In an interesting account of a visit to a Jesuit College in Germany about 1645, John Dury, a Puritan divine, wrote as follows concerning the Jesuit School Drama, and its aims: "There is acted a Tragedy of about an heures durance of about 10 or 12 parts by those of the higher Classes, and the Actors come privately to be instructed therein by the Regent, to whose charge the business is committed.....(The prizes are announced) at the end of the Great Tragedy, whereof the Regent of the first class is to be the Author. There are commonly 60 actors of the better ranks taken out of all Classes, and each of these, besides the charge of clothes, gives 10 pence apiece for fitting the Theater with pictures of the subject of the Tragedy, etc. To this Tragedy, which 'dures commonly 4 or 5 heures, all the Gentry of the Country resort, more especially the Parents of the Schollers and Actors in it. At the end of the Tragedy all that deserved the Præmia are called up upon the Theater, and there sett in a chaire and crowned with a laurell wreath before the whole company present, where it is publicly declared that they for their diligence in the whole preceeding yeare, for their witt, and particularly for their last exercise (the Tragedy), have most deservedly received that honor and reward."²⁶

Like the Protestant School Drama, that of the Jesuits changed its

²⁵ *Ibid.*, ii., 178.

²⁶ *Sloan MS.*, British Museum, (Corcoran, 236-247).

character to some extent during the seventeenth century. The spectacular element increased, and the impression on the populace became an important aim. Accordingly, during this century the plays were more frequent, and resembled pageants; they were the most spectacular dramas of the age. The gorgeous Catholic religious festivals of earlier days merged naturally into these dramatic performances, which were often marked with unusual splendor. "The Jesuits. . . . clothed the imposing matter" (mystery plays in Latin and German) "in all the splendor of the most gorgeous stage appurtenances."²⁷ A caste of a thousand was sometimes employed in these pageants, and College and City or State combined. Often the performances were in honor of dukes, emperors, or kings; such as that given before Louis XIII in 1614.²⁸ Audiences of tremendous size attended; at Prague 8000 were sometimes counted at one time. The courts, particularly at Munich, contributed to make the spectacles as brilliant as possible; when *Esther* was presented in 1577 at Munich the Duke loaned his most precious jewels and trinkets to the actors, and his 160 vessels and plates of solid gold and silver were used in the banquet scene, "for the delight of the eye." Stage properties were constructed for the plays and special costumes made; these were to be kept by the rector.²⁹ Sometimes these properties, such as "burning hell," were lent for productions elsewhere.³⁰ Realism was also striven for, and stories are told of actors who were nearly killed from over-realistic crucifixions or hangings.³¹

The splendor of these dramas and the excellent impression which they made upon the people called forth praise from Catholic and Protestant alike. The Jesuit priests realized their religious value, and often morning prayers were curtailed in order that the people might attend, or the bells were not rung, so that nothing would interfere with the acting. Archduchess Eleonora, of Graz, took the veil because of the impression made upon her by a Jesuit play of 1603. Gifts of large size followed the 1581 and 1583 productions at Cologne. One of the Munich plays resulted in a religious awakening in the Bavarian court, "most of the spectators trembled; a hundred sermons

²⁷ von Eichendorff, *Zur Geschichte des Dramas*, 23.

²⁸ Rochemonteix, 96-99.

²⁹ Pachtler, iii., 274.

³⁰ Goedeke, *Grundriss*, i., 149.

³¹ *Catholic World*, i., 586.

could not have had such an effect."⁸² No wonder that impressive productions like these received praise. An Italian doctor, Hippolytus Guarinoni, wrote in the Tyrol in 1610 concerning the Jesuit Drama that "many a godless, corrupt, erring man, by the mere sight of such a play. . . . is moved and influenced to lead a better and godlier life; high potentates look on these plays with special interest and delight, go to great expense in erecting stages, provide the best and most beautiful apparatus, yea, verily, they hasten from distant lands. . . . in order to see these performances."⁸³ Protestants bewailed the hold which these plays had upon the populace. In 1594 a preacher complained: "High personages, princes and counts, no less than townspeople and rustics take delight in the dramas of the Jesuits, contribute money to them, and honor the actors; these plays are a great instrument in the hands of their party and one which we Protestants almost wholly lack; thus the Jesuits have an opportunity of propagating their idolatry, and of gaining the good will even of the evangelicals themselves." A reporter of the 1585 play at Coblenz praised it highly, and said it "was a spur to the scholars to make more earnest endeavors." Bacon commended the Jesuits for using "play acting; therein, as I think, judging well; . . . if made a part of discipline, it is of excellent use."⁸⁴ Heywood, the famous Elizabethan dramatist, sent his son to a Jesuit College, possibly because of the dramatic opportunities.⁸⁵ Joost van den Vondel, writing a defense of the stage, in the seventeenth century, referred to the Jesuits, "whose skill and excellence in the guidance, management, and moral training of the studious young, were universally recognized."⁸⁶

Although the authors of a very large number of the Jesuit Dramas are unknown, some have risen to fame in dramatic history. Crocus, already referred to, was prominent in both school and dramatic circles. James Bidermann, of Munich, is perhaps the most significant dramatist among the Jesuits; he spent the largest part of his life as a teacher at Munich, and there developed the Jesuit School Drama much as Sturm had done with the Protestant Drama at Strassburg. A thorough humanist, and devout Jesuit, he shows in his plays both the classic and religious influences. His dramas were collected and

⁸² Reinhardtstöttner, 143.

⁸³ Janssen, xiii., 194.

⁸⁴ *De Argmentis Scientiarum*, vi., pg. iv.

⁸⁵ *Cambridge History of English Literature*, v., 100, 162.

⁸⁶ Baumgartner, 234.

frequently used in schools outside of Munich, although they were not published until 1605. The moral tone of his dramas is very evident; his *Joseph*, 1615, is one of very few on this theme which does not dwell at length on the episode with Potiphar's wife. His masterpiece is *Cenodoxus, the Doctor of Paris*, a play of a doctor who is a puffed-up student, but who finally repents of his wasted life. It must have been impressive to the boys who acted it, and the audience which witnessed it. Even before Bidermann came to Munich, the Jesuit College there was famed for its dramatic productions. Open air pageants were performed in 1574, 1577 and 1597. Father George Agricola, president of the College, wrote them, and his pupils, augmented by devout burghers to the number of 1000, took part in the plays. Probably the most splendid drama was that of 1597, when the Jesuit Church of St. Michael was consecrated.

The Jesuit Drama, stretching from the sixteenth to twentieth centuries, is too extensive for one to even suggest a complete list of titles. Rochemonteix³⁷ gives a list of 78 dramas played at one college in France between 1608 and 1761, fairly evenly divided between French and Latin and sacred and secular subjects. Janssen³⁸ gives a list of some of those in German colleges between 1582 and 1618; six are on Biblical subjects, eighteen on sacred legends, and eleven are secular; the majority are in German.

To summarize the results of the Jesuit School Drama is difficult: it undoubtedly developed in the pupils greater power in Latin and must have also stimulated their characters to higher purity and religion. Expanded into the Jesuit pageants of the seventeenth century, it undoubtedly had a profound influence upon the life and belief of the common people. Educationally, Dr. Ward says, it had "a big influence upon Germany's educational life through a long succession of generations." Janssen, who appreciates the dangerous immoralities of the Protestant School Drama, says of the Jesuit Plays: "On the young they could not fail to exercise a moral and educative influence." From the dramatic standpoint Trantmann well says that "what the Jesuits contributed to the field of stage technique can only be described as grandiose." Van Reinhardstöttner adds: "The Jesuits, when they took over the barren humanistic drama and pressed into its service the whole company of arts, did invaluable service to their century, and to

³⁷ 215-223.

³⁸ xiii., 196-197.

the cause of culture, and kindled and kept alive the taste and feelings for the theater and its arts. The Jesuit Drama is entitled to take an honorable place in the history of German culture and literature." Wagner saw in the Jesuit Drama the "joint stock company of all the arts combined." Goethe wrote: "Just as this great spiritual society has its organ builders, its sculptors, and its gilders, so there seem to be some who, by nature and inclination, take to the drama; and as their churches are distinguished by pleasing pomp, so these prudent men have seized on the sensibility of the world by a decent theater." Whatever may be our personal opinions regarding the Jesuit belief and methods, "it would be sheer ingratitude to undervalue what they have effected by their drama."

CHAPTER VI

ACOLASTUS

Acolastus, written by Gnapheus, one of the best known Dutch school-masters, is the most important of all the School Dramas. It was the first play to combine the merits of Terentian Latinity with Biblical material, it inspired a large number of imitations, went through fifty editions in sixty years, was translated into German, French and English, won praise in Italy, and serves as the material for Palgrave's English school book edition.

The author was born in 1493 at the Hague.¹ He received an embarrassing number of names during his lifetime, due chiefly to his classical devotion, which made him long for Greek and Latin names, beside those in the vernacular. Willem de Volder (sometimes spelled Voller), or van de Voldergraft was his Dutch name; from his birth-place he is also called Willem von Haghen, Hagis, Haga, or Hagien-sis. The family name is our Fuller, or cloth dresser; consequently his Greek name was naturally the word for a fuller, Gnapheus. In Latin his name became Gulielmus Fullonius. Of his home and parents we know nothing. He received his education probably at the Hague in one of the houses—*Fratrum Domi*—of the "Brethern of the Common Life," the educational institutions founded some two centuries earlier by Gerhard Groot at Deventer, which had spread rapidly over Western Europe. He probably entered this school with the idea of becoming a priest. This training was significant to Gnapheus in two ways: Religiously, it was based upon the original Gospels, and laid much emphasis upon sincere devotions. Men trained in these schools tended to join the Reformation ranks, as did Gnapheus; near-

¹ For the life of Gnapheus consult: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, ix., 279-280; Bolte's ed. of *Acolastus*, xi.-xiii.; Morley, *English Writers*, viii., 89-91; Kraft, *Briefe und Documente aus der Zeit der Reformation*, 84-85, 192; Hartknock, *Prussische Kirchen-Historia*, 295-304; Holstein, *Die Reformation im Spiegelbilde der dramatischen Literatur des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 54-57, (in *Schriften für Reformations-Geschichte*, xiv., xv.); Holstein, *Das Drama vom verlorenen Sohn*, 4; Foppens, *Bibliothecae Belgicae*, 402; *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, ii., "G", 65; Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, ii., 75-76.

ly all of his later life was bound up with his religious views, and the persecutions which he suffered for holding them. Furthermore, these "Brethern" Schools were famous for their use of School Dramas; there is little doubt that Gnapheus took part in these Latin productions, probably of Terence and Plautus, while in school, and there became acquainted with the form of literature, and pedagogic method, in which he later reigned supreme. From this school Gnapheus probably went to the University of Lyden (Löwen); the Matriculation Records for 1486-1527 are lost. Certainly he attended the University of Cologne; on May 26, 1511, he registered in the Faculty of Arts, and in November, 1512, he received his B.A.² with Peter Mosellanus, who was later a leader in educational and religious circles. The short length of his residence strongly points to previous university study.

While at Cologne Gnapheus studied at the Montaner Burse, with such men as Heresbach, later prominently connected with Melancthon's educational work, and Glareanus, another Reformation leader. Dr. Cellarius, to whom Luther wrote his approval of School Plays,³ was probably one of his teachers. Armed with his B.A. degree he followed the course that so many "B.A.'s" have since followed, and started as a teacher, receiving in 1522 a position in his home at the Hague. Meanwhile his religious views had been changing and by 1523 he had published attacks upon monastic life and the empty ceremonies of the Catholic Church; the influence of Luther was beginning to show itself. In this same year he suffered under the Papal Inquisition at Delft for forty days; this was followed by an imprisonment for three months in a monastery. Because of a second attack on cloister life, Gnapheus was again imprisoned from May to September, 1525. His companion in prison, Jan de Baker (Pistorius) was burned at the stake September 15, 1525, as the first Reformation martyr in Holland; later Gnapheus wrote his biography. He probably owed his own life and freedom to the intervention of the States of Holland. Meanwhile his teaching had continued, and it was doubtless due to his success in this line that the officials prevented his death. His first, and greatest, Latin School Drama, *Acolastus*, was written about 1525, and played by his school boys at the Hague. It was not printed, however, until 1529, after his flight from his home. During Lent, 1528, Gnapheus was away from home on a journey, pos-

² "26—Moi 1511: Wilhelmus Hagis ad artes iuravit et solvit quatuor albus." For November, 1512: "Wilhelmus de Haga comitum."

³ Pg. 56.

sibly for some educational purpose. During his absence his family was accused by the officials of offending the regulations for the observance of Lent, his mother was put in irons, his sister thrown into jail, and armed soldiers quartered in his house. Gnapheus, returning, decided that flight was inevitable, and accordingly, probably with his mother and sister, fled to Elbing, in East Prussia, where other Holland Protestants had already found protection. On Michlemass Day, 1535, at the request of the Council at Elbing, he opened a Gymnasium in an old cloister, which flourished under his rectorship until 1541. Religious persecution, however, continued, with the ultra-Lutherans this time as his enemies. The Bishop of Ermeland, John Dantisco, finally drove him from Elbing, and in 1541 he sought the protection of Duke Albrecht of Prussia, in Königsberg. The Duke seems to have been fond of Gnapheus, and in his subsequent religious controversy at Königsberg, defended the schoolmaster almost single-handed for some time. He gave Gnapheus a position in his Council, and also utilized his educational ability by making him, in 1544, a professor (or docent) in the newly founded University of Königsberg, and rector of the Associated Pedagogium. On November 29, 1542, shortly after Gnapheus' arrival in Königsberg, John Brismann wrote confidentially to Luther, telling of the arrival of "Doctor Guilhelmi Gnaphæf Hollandorum," who brought letters of introduction, and was accompanied by his wife's family and his sister. Brismann, whom Gnapheus wrongly judged to be his friend, even then suggests his Lutheran disapproval of some of the Hollander's views, specially regarding purgatory; he does not believe he should be allowed to lecture on theology. The prospects at the University of Königsberg seemed bright, and Gnapheus must have hoped that now, at last, his persecutions were over, and he might live out his life quietly, as a teacher. The other teachers were friendly to him at first, and when the chair of theology became vacant Gnapheus offered to explain the Gospels to the students twice a year on fast days. Gnapheus believed in democracy in education and he strove to make this new University as free to all as possible. Consequently he soon clashed, as Hartknoch tells us, with another leader on the University faculty, one Philoplutus, who took more fees from his pupils than was right. This Midas-like individual replied to Gnapheus' attacks by criticizing the Hollander's religious views, but found himself in the minority; Duke

Albrecht supported his rector, and stood sponsor when Gnapheus' youngest son was baptized. When criticism was made upon Gnapheus' supposedly un-Lutheran ideas regarding the Sacrament, a Convocation was called, and Philoplutus failed to prove his allegations. Staphylus, the powerful leader of the Lutheran party, however, became opposed to Gnapheus, who was called upon to defend a Disputation before the Academic Senate, in which his religious views were expressed in thirteen Latin theses. The Senate, now fully opposed to the persecuted old teacher and supported by Staphylus, demanded a statement of his philosophical beliefs also, which he gave in September, 1546, under fourteen headings. Gnapheus submitted this to Brismann, who had already written Luther in disapproval of Gnapheus but who the Hollander hoped was on his side; such did not prove to be the case. There seems to have been little basis for all this attack upon Gnapheus; personal envy and spite must have been at the bottom of it all. Staphylus, however, was too powerful an enemy; Melancthon and Camerarius were requested to judge upon Gnapheus' defense, and Staphylus was angry when their report only mildly criticized it. The Duke was called upon to help settle the controversy and he appointed two representatives to decide Gnapheus' fate. We can almost see the old rector standing before his judges defending what he believes is right; after some slight modification of his statements he is exonerated, much to the rage of his enemies. Staphylus leads the latter in a final attack, he revives the trouble which forced Gnapheus to leave Elbing, the question of the Sacrament, and attacks his comedies, particularly *Acolastus*, in which, said the Lutheran leader, the Scriptural story is misused. Surrounded on every side by those already decided against him, not permitted to draw up any real defense, Gnapheus broken-heartedly bewails the rigor and unfairness of this Lutheran inquisition, comparing it with the less severe Papal one which he underwent in Holland. He defends his belief in the Sacrament, in the spirit, not the thing, and states that Staphylus has misquoted him in the charges. He is finally adjudged a heretic and fanatic, and threatened with all but execution. The Duke no longer defends him against such odds, the University faculty unseats him, and a Writ of Excommunication is posted on the Church, June 9, 1547, with soldiers to defend it. Gnapheus fled, for the third time, to East Friesland, with his wife and children, from whence he sent back to the Duke a long Latin defense of his position, but to no avail. The

worn-out old man, accordingly, recanted from his supposed heretical beliefs, and was baptized again.

The last twenty years of his eventful life were spent in Emden, among the followers of Zwingli, where upon the recommendation of Joannes à Lasco, he was made Secretary of the Countess Anna of East Friesland, and tutor of her son. At the age of seventy-five, on September 29, 1568, he died, serving at that time as Treasurer of Norden. He had a strong influence in the founding of the Latin School in this place. Dr. Bolte says he was famed as an able schoolman and scholar, an acute man of affairs, and a talented author. His youngest son, Albert, was a well known jurist.

As far as we know, Gnapheus' activity as an author is, with one exception, confined to the Latin tongue. One year after his return to the Hague, with Cornelius Hoen and Johannes Rode, he published a new edition of the *New Testament*, in Dutch, (Amsterdam, 1523). In 1525 he wrote *Een troost ende spiegel der siecken ende derghenen, die in lyden zyn*,⁴ which, like Bunyan's more famous book, was composed while in prison. The edition of 1531 was published without Gnapheus' knowledge. Later, 1547, this work was revised and named *Tobias ende* (and) *Lazarus*. 1525 was evidently the year of his greatest literary activity; that fall, after being released from prison, he wrote the life of his martyred companion, John Pistorius, under the title *Vita Johannis Pistorii*. A Dutch translation appeared in 1649. There is a possibility that he wrote, then or later, *Apologiam pro captivo Wordenate*, known only in manuscript at Lyden. 1525 is also probably the date of the composition of *Acolastus*.

The strong approval accorded this Latin School Play led him to write three other similar plays, which, however, were far less successful. *Triumphus Eloquentiae*, written in Elbing, 1539, and performed soon afterwards by Gnapheus' school boys there, was first published in 1541. This is a play of "declamations and songs," with Mercury as the chief character, supported by the Greek gods. Jupiter's marriage is discussed at length, and seventy-four school boys appear in one scene as his warriors. The leading characters played in disguise, and often appeared on horse back. Eloquence entered in a triumphant chariot and in four hundred hexameter lines reproved the wicked gods and goddesses. The play closed when Poesie passed

⁴ A Comfort and guide to all who are ill and those who are diseased.

around her horn as a drinking cup, and muses, gods, chorus and all imbibed, and then sang together a farewell song. The dramatic qualities, the excellent characterization, and forceful plot of *Acolastus* are all lacking in this second attempt. Three editions of the *Triumphus Eloquentiæ* are known; the title of the first is "Triumphus Eloquentiæ in bonarum literatum et doctæ facundiæ commendationem carmine, redditus et item pleno omnium personarum equitatu Aelbingæ publice exhibitus, auctore Gulielmo Gnapheo Hagense, ludi literarii apud Aelbingenses moderatore primario Gedani 1541." Two later editions appeared in 1543 and 1551. The oration of Mercury was first published separately, in 1539, as "Parænesis gratulatoria in bonarum literarum et ludi literarii apud Elbingenses instituti commendationem auctore Gulielmo Gnapheo."

A third Latin School Play, probably written just before leaving Elbing in 1540, is entitled *Morosophus*. It is an elaboration of a poetic dialogue which Gnapheus wrote early in the Elbing period, before becoming schoolmaster there; it must have been better as a poem than as a School Play. Morus, a flutist, decides to become a learned astronomer; he grows a beard as a disguise, and changes his name to Morosophus. His study of the movements of the stars leads him to think that he can control them, and also rain, and thereby become a king. Thor shatters his dream, and Morosophus finally becomes his pupil and follower. The old tale of the enchanted rain by which men are made insane, is used here; Morosophus, who remains indoors, finds himself so unhappy as a lone sane man, that he washes in the rain water and joins his fellows. Creizenach⁵ praises the meter and language of Morosophus, but not its delineation of character; he terms it a semi-farce-morality. The first edition, dedicated to Gnapheus' friend the Duke, is entitled "Morosophus. De vera et personata sapientia, Comœdia non minis festiva quam pia, Auctore G. Gnapheo. Accesserunt et quædam alia poematia in laudem illustri Principis Alberti, Marchionis Brandenburgensis, lusa. Gendani, Fr. Rhodes, 1541." A second edition followed in 1599; the Library of the Uni-

⁵ For the editions of Gnapheus' works consult: Bahlmann, *Die lateinischen Dramen*, 39-45; Weller, *Annalen der Poetischen National-Literatur der Deutschen*, ii., 314; Bolte's ed. of *Acolastus*, xxiv.-xxvii.; Holstein, *Das Drama vom verlorenen Sohn*, 3; Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii., 132.

⁶ ii., 176.

versity of Königsberg, which possesses one of the best collections of Gnapheus' works, has a manuscript edition dated 1540.

The Greek gods also furnished the material for his fourth Latin play, *Hypocrisis*, written 1544. It is in verse, with the customary five acts. Psyche is called before the court of Jupiter because of her relations with Cupid, Venus' sin-begotten son. Hypocrisis (Hypocrisy) is involved in the trial, and is soon shown to be guilty, and receives due punishment. Psyche, repentant, flees to Metanæa (Remorse), confesses her sin, and is welcomed back to the heavenly throne. The religious significance of the plot is much more in evidence than the comedy element. The first edition was published in August, 1544, by Bartholemew Westhemerus at Basil with the title "Hypocrisis. De Hypocrisis falsa religione, ficta disciplina et supplicio, deque Psyches colamata et restitute illi per veram pœnitentiam salute Tragicomœdia, Hypocrisis titulo inscripta, Auctore Gulielmo Gnapheo Hagiense." A somewhat revised edition appeared in 1564, and a third in 1587. It will be noted that Moliere used much the same plot in his drama *Tartuffe*.

The *Misobarbarus* referred to in the Bibliothecæ Belgicæ is probably a mistaken reference to the *Morosophus*. In 1553 Gnapheus' last work appeared: *Egnomion Cevitatis Aembdanae*, of which Babucke has made a metrical translation.

Gnapheus' fame as an author, or teacher, however, would be slight if these were the only works which he produced. His epoch-making work was *Acolastus*,⁷ a drama written in various Latin meters for his school boys at the Hague, about 1525, and played under his direction that year, and again during his rectorship at Elbing, 1536. It was published first at Antwerp, July 23, 1529; a list of the known editions follows:

1. Godfridus Dumæus Antverpiæ ex cudebat, Anno M.D. XXIX, Mense Iulio. Cum gratia et Privilegio Imperiali ad triennium. On page EijjB is: Excussum Antverpiæ in ædibus Martini Cæsaris, expenses Godfridi dumæi. Vicesima tertra Julij. On page EijjA is the seal, or trade mark, of Martin De Keyser, the Antwerp printer, who

⁷ On *Acolastus* consult: Introduction to *Acolastus*, Bolte's ed.; Holstein, *Das Drama vom verlorenen Sohn*, 3-6; Schmidt, *Komödien vom Studentenleben*, 7-10; Morley, *English Writers*, viii., 92-94; Herford, *Literary Relations of England and Germany*, chs. iii. and v.; *The Library*, x., 337-343; Spengler, *Der Verlorene Sohn im Drama des xvi. Jahrhunderts*, 17-30.

printed the first French Bible in Belgium, an English Bible dedicated to Anne Boleyn, a work of Erasmus, and four editions of *Acolastus*. (See reproduction of title page and signet in Bolte's edition of *Acolastus*). 2. Antverpiæ, 1530. 3. Antverpiæ, 1530. 4. Lutetiæ, Paris, 1530. 5. Colonia, 1530. 6. Colonia, 1532. 7. Colonia, 1533. 8. Antverpiæ, 1533. 9. Antverpiæ, 1533. 10. Basileæ, 1534. 11. Lipsiæ, 1534. 12. Lutetiæ, Paris, 1534. 13. Antverpiæ, 1535. 14. Colonia, 1535. 15. Colonia, 1536. 16. Lipsiæ, 1536. 17. Roskildæ, 1537. 18. Lipsiæ, 1538. 19. Parisiis, 1539. 20. Antverpiæ, 1540. 21. Colonia, 1540. 22. Colonia, 1540(?). 23. Basilæ, 1541, (in *Comœdiæ ac tragœdiæ aliquot ex novo et vetere testamento desumptæ*). 24. Parisiis, 1542. 25. Lipsiæ, 1543. 26. Colonia, 1544. 27. Antverpiæ, 1545. 28. Parisiis, 1546. 29. Colonia, 1546. 30. Tremonia, 1549. 31. Parisiis, 1550. 32. Parisiis, 1554, (with Dupreau's commentary). 33. Parisiis, 1554. 34. Colonia, 1554. 35. Antverpiæ, 1555, (text revised by Gnapheus). 36. Parisiis, 1556. 37. Antverpiæ, 1560. 38. Argentina, 1561. 39. Antverpiæ, 1562. 40. Colonia, 1563. 41. Antverpiæ, 1568. 42. Colonia, 1569. 43. Antverpiæ, 1576. 44. Colonia, 1577. 45. Lyon, 1581. 46. Parisiis, 1584. 47. London, 1585. 48. In Cod. Lat. Monacensis, 1587. 49. Berlin, 1891, (ed. by Bolte). Gœdeke (1886) also gives the following, which later editors (Bolte, 1891, Bahlmann, 1893) do not include: Basil, 1547, (second edition of *Comœdiæ ac tragœdiæ aliquot*). As is shown later there were also eleven editions of the various German, French and English translations. During Gnapheus' life-time his work appeared in fifty editions; thirteen were published at Antwerp, twelve at Cologne, twelve at Paris, four at Leipsig and two at London. The Columbia University Library probably possesses more copies of the work than any other in America: the Paris edition of 1554, the Cologne edition of 1569, (based on the text revised in 1555), a facsimile of Palsgrave's translation, 1540, and Bolte's edition, 1891.

It is to be doubted whether any other book, except the Bible, went through so many editions during the sixteenth century. Holstein says that it became a "Volksbuch" of the higher classes all over Europe; Gœdeke calls it the most important drama of the century; Bolte says it ushers in a new dramatic era and the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* classes it among the most famous and influential of all sixteenth century dramas. Guicciardini, in Italy, hailed Gnapheus as

"primus apud inferiores Germanos poeta comicus." *Acolastus* was intended for dramatic uses, chiefly in the schools, and, if our records of the actual plays used in the English and European schools during this period were more definite, we should surely find numerous examples of its pedagogic use; many a schoolboy must have developed his facility in Latin by playing *Acolastus*, *Palargus*, *Philautus*, or some other character. In the prologue to his Latin version of *Susanna*, 1535, Sixt Birck refers to *Acolastus* in a manner that indicates that his whole audience was familiar with it. Four countries, at least, used it as a school book. In England we know that the play was performed at Cambridge in 1560, when it was referred to as "the celebrated comedy;" probably this was the Latin version, rather than Palsgrave's translation.⁸ Nash in his *Unfortunate Traveler or Jack Wilton*⁹ has his hero, while in Wittenberg, see a performance of *Acolastus*, "the Prodigall Childe," which was "filthily acted, leathernly sete foorth;" one actor shook the stage by his stamps and stride, another flung his arms around so vigorously that Jack feared he would knock the candles from their sockets. One parasite winked too much, another danced "an antike." The only part of the play which was convincingly done was the Prodigal's hunger; master and servant ate acorns as though they had been brought up on them, "slovenly and ravenously to cause sport."

The attempt which Gnapheus made, and in which he succeeded, was to put a moral plot in Terentian style; he was the progenitor of this particular type of scholastic-Biblical-neo-Latin drama, and his followers and imitators were legion. Doubtless he had played, as a boy, one of the Terence or Plautus comedies; as a schoolmaster he soon realized the great assistance which a School Play served in teaching a boy conversational Latin. Yet Terence was neither moral nor Christian. His deep religious nature undoubtedly made the immoralities of the Latin authors repellent to him; it seemed dangerous to put such material into the hands and mouths of school boys. By some flash of genius the idea came to him of combining Biblical material with Terentian style, and writing a new drama for presentation at his school in place of the immoral Latin plays. The one Biblical incident which exactly suited this purpose was the story of the Prodigal Son, with its

⁸ *Ency. Brit.*, viii., 518.

⁹ Pg. 71-72 of Grosart ed.

semi-picaresque tale of adventure, and its clear spiritual lesson of forgiveness through faith. To clothe this material in the style of Terence was Gnapheus' task; he succeeded, and received the favorable verdict of his age upon his work. As he tells us in the dedication to Johannes Sartorius, of Amsterdam, dated "Kal. Octobr. anno 1528," he had been struck by the neglect which the age was showing to comedies; it had its modern Ciceros, Tullies, Livies and Ovids, but no Terences or Menanders. And much as he loved Cicero, that "imago veritatis," he felt with Erasmus, that some other style of Latin must be taught in the schools. He is the first, he writes, who has dared to create a Biblical comedy, which he recommends as profitable for public presentation. He announces that he hopes to write more such Latin plays later. Even in this dedication there is a note of sadness, for he tells us that his enemies have made life a burden, and taken him from his studies; he fears he will have to flee, and that more sufferings are in store for him. He was a true prophet.

The debt of *Acolastus* to Terence is evident in the whole treatment of the plot; furthermore the names Chremes and Sannio come from him.¹⁰ Gnapheus uses Terentian parasites, slaves, meretrices and so forth; the words "he wasted his substance in riotous living" are expanded into two and a half acts, half the play; the treatment, however, is more refined than we could expect from Terence. Pantobalus is a character in Horace's *Satires*, and Pelargus, Eubulus, Pamphagus and Acolastus are taken from Aristotle. Through Gnapheus' use of them, however, Acolastus, the prodigal, and Eubulus, the good counsellor, have been handed down as character names. The names suggest the characteristics of the actors; Acolastus, unbridled; Pelargus, stork; Eubulus, good counsel; Philautus, selfish; Pantolabus, grasp all; Pamphagus, eat all. Gnapheus takes over many phrases from Terence, Plautus, Horace, Cicero, and Virgil.¹¹ When Gnapheus revised the text in 1555 he added a few more touches of the Terentian style by smoothing the meter and making the dialogue more lively; however, the first version is generally considered the better. In his use of the Biblical material the author has made very little change; the incident of the elder brother, who is merely referred to, is, however, omitted. In the hands of such a rigorous Reformation leader it

¹⁰ Schmidt, *Komödien vom Studentenleben*, 25-26.

¹¹ Bolte's ed., *Acolastus*, xvi-xxiv.

is natural that the story takes on Reformation ideas: the sinner's attitude toward his father, the necessity for sincere repentance, and salvation by faith rather than works. As a result this and all the other works of Gnapheus were included by the Pope in the list of Prohibited Books. In the *Index* of Pope Paul IV, 1559, Gulielmus Gnaphæus Hagien is among those "auctores, quorum libri et scripta omnia prohibentur;" a similar entry is found in the 1564 *Index*, in the "Spanischen generalinquisitors Quiroga von 1583;" and the *Index* of Sixtus V, 1590.¹²

The play, of which the introduction of Palsgrave's translation is found in this study, has four main divisions: Acolastus' departure with his portion, which Pelargus permits upon the advice of Eubulus; his riotous living with his selfish parasitical friends, Pantolabus and Pamphagus, aided by Sannio, the innkeeper, and Lais, the courtesan, who force the Prodigal to waste his fortune upon them; his degradation and hunger, and labor for Chremes, the farmer; and finally, the return of the penitent Acolastus to his father, who has long been waiting for him and who runs to welcome him afar off with a kiss. The play ends with a peroration to the spectators, pointing out the spiritual lesson enacted before them.

Acolastus is interesting not alone from the standpoint of its educational aim, and its far-reaching influence; even today, as one reads it, the power of the play is felt. Gnapheus had a remarkable gift of vividly picturing his scenes; can you not see the haughty Acolastus as he rejects his father's wholesome advice, and throws away the Bible which, in typically modern fashion, is given to the son just leaving home? The scene in the market when the parasites, attracted by the bulge in the belt of the country boy—for there he has fastened his "decem talenta"—, win his unsuspecting confidence, is happening every day. The banquet scene, with the love making between Acolastus and Lais, is perhaps the finest writing in the play; here again the attitude of the age is shown when even an educationalist, writing for school boys, omits none of the details of the riotous living; the moral of the scene was clearly pointed out. The game with loaded dice by which Pamphagus completes the Prodigal's ruin, is much more modern in its treatment. The soliloquies which the worn and wasted Acolastus ut-

¹² Reusch, *Die Indices Librorum Prohibitorum des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 187, 263, 407, 483.

ters in his despair, stripped even of his clothes, are prophetic of many of the later famous soliloquies in literature. Gnapheus was not only a teacher; he was a dramatist of remarkable ability.

It is impossible here to even briefly suggest the influence which this dramatic treatment of the Prodigal Son material had upon both English and German literature. Even the works of Spengler, Holstein and Herford,¹³ referred to already, merely outline the development and extent of the Prodigal Son Dramas in Germany, where the actual plot was used time after time, in Latin and German plays, and in England, where this Biblical incident was soon treated in a more decidedly English fashion. The popular plays of student life are also a direct outgrowth of the Prodigal Son plot, using as a setting the rough life of an educational institution. Gnapheus' play was probably written in 1525; it appeared in 1529 and is the first treatment of this Biblical story in dramatic form. The only other claimant to the fame of starting this great movement is Macropedius, master of the school at Utrecht, a Catholic dramatist who wrote *Asotus* in 1507, but which was not printed, or known at all extensively, until 1535, six years after *Acolastus* appeared.¹⁴ Gnapheus did not know of it when he wrote. It is satirical, in part an imitation of Reuchlin, and is much more Terentian in type than Biblical. Half the play is clumsily devoted to an attempt to give a motive for the division of the inheritance; the Prodigal leaves home because of an intrigue carried on with a slave in his father's house; his repentance is conventional and unconvincing. None of the graphic power which Gnapheus possessed is evident in this work of Macropedius; however, unlike those of Gnapheus his later works, *Rebelles*, *Hecastus*, etc., are a decided improvement on his first dramatic attempt.

Three other early treatments of the Prodigal Son material are sometimes urged in place of Gnapheus'. He himself refers, in the dedication of the revised *Acolastus*, 1555 edition, to a doctor named Goudanus who has told this story in prose. Of this we know nothing more. About 1510 Ravisius Textor¹⁵ wrote, in Paris, a so-called dia-

¹³ See also Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, ii., 76-78, 121-128; Goedeke, *Grundriss*, ii., pt. 2.

¹⁴ Herford gives for these dates, c. 1510 and 1537; Holstein (*Die Reformation im Spiegelbilde der dramatischen Literatur*, 57) is the authority for the above.

¹⁵ Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, ii., 60-66.

logue "De Filio Prodigio." The treatment is entirely different, with practically no relation to the story in Luke XV; the Prodigal's wasteful life starts when his father dies; there is no return or forgiveness. This work, as far as we know, was not published until 1536. In 1527 Burkard Waldis,¹⁶ in remote Riga, in Switzerland, produced a German *Verlorenen Sohn*, which, in contrast to Textor, sticks too closely by the original. There is no evidence of classic influence; indeed the author deprecates the Terentian style, and prefers his rude, almost boorish one; few of his readers will agree with him in this. The play is interminable, garrulous, and shows no skill on the author's part. The prologue condemns those who are so diabolical as to disbelieve in justification by faith, and the epilogue, summing up the whole play, gives a chance for Waldis to say "I told you so" by pointing to the Prodigal's history. Because of its lack of originality, its style, its language (German) and its production far from the center of intellectuality, this play cannot preempt the place of *Acolastus*, which thus remains the first significant and successful dramatic treatment of the Prodigal Son theme, and, to a greater or less extent, the model for all later imitations.

In Germany the influence of *Acolastus* in originating and developing the Prodigal Son dramas can best be traced by referring to the actual translations of the Hollander's play. The first was made by Georg Binder, in Zurich, 1530.¹⁷ The title of the first edition reads "Acolastus, ein Comœdia von dem Verlorenen Sun, Luc. am XV ver-tütscht unnd gehalten zu Zurich im jar MDXXXV. Christoffel Froschoner." Other editions are: 2. Without Place, 1536. 3. Without Place, 1537. 4. Strassburg, c. 1543. 5. Zurich. 6. Basel, 1699. 7. Reprint by Bächtold, *Schweizerische Schauspiele des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts*, I, 171-271, 1890. This is a free translation of Gnaphæus, intended for use by Binder's school boys at Zurich; in his preface he gives hearty approval of the playing of Latin, Greek and German comedies in the schools, which he says, will teach the youth to avoid

¹⁶ Goedeke, ii., pt. 2, 447; Creizenach, ii., 77; Janssen, *History of the German People*, xii., 49-58.

¹⁷ On Binder's translation consult: Holstein, *Die Reformation im Spiegelbilde der dramatischen Literatur*, 154, and *Das Drama vom verlorenen Sohn*, 16-21; Weller, *Das alte Volks-Theater der Schweiz*, 136; Bächtold, *Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur in der Schweiz*, 307; Creizenach, iii., 334-335; Goedeke, ii., pt. 2, 347.

vice, as comedy is a mirror in which both good and bad are shown. Many changes can be noted; some scenes are entirely altered to gain a more German atmosphere; a last act or "appendix" is added, with ten new characters, including the elder brother, whose anger at the feast is vividly pictured. Binder made this translation in 1530, within a year after the first publication of *Acolastus*, and intended to have his boys present it at Easter time. Religious difficulties in the city prevented, however, and it was not performed there until 1535, when it was also published. The deeply Protestant tone of the play made it popular among the followers of Zwingli.

In 1545 Wolfgang Schmeltzl¹⁸ brought out his *Comedia des verlorenen Sons*, at Vienna. Its debt to *Acolastus* is pointed out by both Holstein and Spengler in their works on the Prodigal Son dramas. It is hardly a translation of Gnapheus, but rather a re-treatment of the material which Gnapheus introduced to these school dramatists. It was intended for presentation before King Ferdinand at Vienna by Schmeltzl's pupils, who had already played the original Latin version. In 1618 Martin Böhme published his *Acolastus, eine lustige Comedia vom verlorne Sohn*, Wittenberg. It is a close copy of Gnapheus. The same is true of *Historie von dem Verlorne Sohn*, by Hanhart, which was performed in Thurgau in 1627.

In addition to these four, which are fairly close imitations of the original, at least ten other German dramas on the Prodigal Son theme, all of which owe something to *Acolastus*, may be noted:¹⁹ Johann Ackermann, *Ein Schönes Geistliches und fast nutzliches Spiel, vom verlorne Son*, Zwickau, 1536; Jörg Wichram, *Ein schönes und evangelisch Spiel von dem verlorne Sun*, Colmar, 1540; Andreas Scharpfenecker, *Ein kurzer ausszug, der Teutschen Comedien des Acolasti, das ist, vom verlorne Son*, 1544; Hans Sachs, *Comedia, Mit Neun personen, Der verlorne Son*, 1556; Nicholas Risleben, *Asotus*, Magdeburg, 1586; Christean Schön, *Asotus*, Wittenberg, 1599; Ludwig Halle, *Eine Newe Comoedia vom Verlorne Sohn*, 1603; Johannes Schrader, *Comoedia vom verlorne Sohn*, Magdeburg, 1605; Johann Neudorf, *Asotus*, Gosslar, 1608; Nicolaus Locke, *Comoedia Vom Ungerathenen und Verlorne Sohn*, Lüneburg, 1619; also nine dramas

¹⁸ Creizenach, iii., 368.

¹⁹ See Holstein, and Spengler; Scherer, *Die Anfänge des Deutschen Prosaromans*, 50-54; Tittman, *Die Schauspiele der Englischen Komödianten in Deutschland*, xxiv.-xxvi., 45-75; Goedeke, ii., 544.

on this theme by unknown authors, from 1537 to the eighteenth century.

As has been suggested, the thought soon entered the minds of these schoolmen dramatists that they might make the Prodigal a student and have an educational institution as the setting for the temptations which befall him; a double end would be gained, by the lesson from the Prodigal, and the exposure of student wickedness; the comedy element could also be further developed. Consequently *Acolastus* served also as a source for the so-called Comedies of Student Life.²⁰ Macropedius' *Rebelles*, 1535, was one of the best of these dramas, although the *Studentes* of Stymmelius, 1549, was more widely read, (twenty-eight editions between 1579 and 1662); Herford has clearly pointed out its debt to *Acolastus*. Among other plays of student life which owe a like obligation are: Jörg Wichram, *Der Jungen Knaben Spiegell*, Strassburg, 1554; Jos Murer, *Der Jungen Mannen Spiegel*, Zürich, 1560; Jacob Schertweg, *Tragoedia von verlornen Sohne*, Basil, 1579-1580; Georg Pondo, *Speculum Puerorum*, Issleben, 1596; Jacob Ayser, *Comedi, der Knaben Spigl*; Martin Hayneccius, *Almanzor, der Kinder Schulspiegel*, Leipsig, 1578; Albert Wichgren, *Cornelius*, Rostock, 1600; Georg Mauricius, *Eine schöne Comoedia von dem Schulwesen*, Leipsig, 1606; Joh. Georg Schoch, *Comoedia vom Studenten-Leben*, Leipsig, 1657.

There were three Prodigal Son dramas produced in Italy during the sixteenth century; whether they had any connection with *Acolastus* is doubtful. Antonia Pulci, wife of the Florentine poet, wrote on "de figlinol prodigo" by 1572; Castellano Castellani, another Florentine, also wrote a play on this subject, and a third one was printed anonymously in Venice, 1585. In Spain Lope de Vega wrote on *El Hijo Prodigio*, 1604, as well as José de Valduelso in 1622, and Manuel Vidal y Salvador at an uncertain date. In the Netherlands, where the first Prodigal Son drama was brought out, no drama was written on this theme in the vernacular until the early seventeenth century; Jacobus Conynenberg was the author. Sweden, in 1654, produced a Latin Prodigal Son drama, *Filius Prodigus*, written by Samuel Brask, a Latin schoolmaster.

²⁰ Schmidt, *Komödien vom Studentenleben*; Holstein, *Das Drama vom verlorenen Sohn*, 45-50; Raché, *Die Deutsche Schulkomödie und die Dramen vom Schul- und Knabenspiegel*; Janssen, *History of the German People*, xii., 147-155; Herford, *Literary Relations of England and Germany*, ch. v.

In France the principal Prodigal Son drama is the translation of *Acolastus*, made by Antoine Tyron, published in 1564, under the title *Moralité de l'Enfant prodigue par personnages, translateé nouvellement du latin en françois, selon le texte de l'Evangile*, Lyon and Rouen. Nisard says the translation was made about 1540; Parfaicts date it 1535. The names used by Gnapheus are omitted, and also the characters termed père, prodigue, maistresse, and so on; the translation is into poetry, of about fifteen hundred lines, (two hundred more than *Acolastus* has), which has considerable dramatic and literary merit. Nisard reproduces two of the pictures which appeared in the 1564 edition: 'Enfant Prodigue réduit a garder les pourceaux, and L'Enfant Prodigue de retour a le père.²¹ Reference has already been made to the edition of *Acolastus* in France in 1554, with a commentary by Gabriel Dupreau to make the work more serviceable in the schools. Nisard also refers to such an edition in 1548; if he is correct, this adds another to the already long list of editions of *Acolastus*.

In England the Prodigal Son dramas were never as popular as in Germany; it is erroneous, however, to state that the theme was not used by English dramatists. Thomas Ingeland's *Disobedient Child* and *The Nice Wanton* both are English adoptions of the Prodigal Son plot. Robert Greene's four so-called autobiographical novels are simply variations upon this popular theme. The debt of Gascoigne's *Glass of Government*, and Lyly's *Euphues* to *Acolastus* will be discussed later.

Of the many translations of *Acolastus* the one made by Palsgrave in 1540 must be considered the most important at least from the standpoint of English literature and pedagogy. Palsgrave's edition introduces the Prodigal Son motif into English, and thereby becomes one of the most significant of the pre-Elizabethan plays. The English translation, the introduction of which is reproduced in this study, gives an interesting and valuable side light upon the school methods and practices of the day; Palsgrave was one of our earliest English school reformers.

We know neither the date of birth or death of John Palsgrave.²²

²¹ Nisard, *Historie des Livres Populaires*, ii., 217-226.

²² For references on Palsgrave's life consult: Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, i., 119, 545; Brewer, *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, i., 926, ii., 93, 1107, 1155, 1201, 1459 and 1460, iii., 1522, 1523, iv., 16, 1989, 2403, 2561, 2593-2596, v., 621, vi., 529, xv., 431, xxi., 783; Boase, *Register Univer-*

The biographical references to him are few, and the following is as complete a "life" as can be written now, nearly four centuries since he worked and wrote. He seems to have been born about 1480 in London, where he received his elementary education. Of his family we know nothing except that he was supporting his mother in 1529. He received his B.A. from Cambridge, being a member of Corpus Christi College and according to Anthony A. Wood, studying chiefly logic and philosophy. The lure of France then attracted him to Paris, where in addition to his studies he gained a thorough knowledge of French, which served him well later. He received his Master's degree while there. His ability in teaching French gained for him the position of tutor to Princess Mary, the sister of Henry VIII. The privy purse records for Henry VIII's reign contain the following items: "1513, January 6, John Palsgrave, clerk, schoolmaster to my Lady Princess, whole year's wages, £6, 13s. 4d." In March of the same year he received 66s. 8d. In the fall of 1514 Princess Mary was married to the gouty king of France, Louis XII, and Palsgrave was sent to France to accompany her. Mary Tudor was then a beautiful girl of eighteen, and it must have been a relief to her when her sickly husband of fifty-two died, three months after the marriage. She had always been of a studious mind, and Erasmus, who first saw her as a child of four, makes reference to her in his poem dedicated to her father, Henry VII.²³ She had been carefully instructed in French as a young girl, and consequently Palsgrave's appointment as her personal tutor and, when necessary, interpreter, must have been a decided honor. The young Queen was much interested in Palsgrave, and when Norfolk dismissed her English retinue, her appeal to Wolsey shows how she missed her English companions, among whom, besides Palsgrave, was, probably, the ill-starred Anne Boleyn. Shortly before departing for France Palsgrave had entered the church, being made Prebend of Portpoole, St. Paul's Cathedral, London, on April

sity of Oxford, i., 168; *The Camden Miscellany*, iii., last section, xxiii., xxiv., xxviii., xxx.; Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, i., 121 (Bliss ed.). For general references, consult (noting errors): *Dictionary of National Biography*, xliii., 170; Morley, *English Writers*, viii., 9; Baker, *Biographia Dramatica*, ii., 4, 560; Beloe, *Anecdotes of Literature*, vi., 344; Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, ii., 85, iii., 549; *Cyclopedia of Education*, iv.; Watson, *English Grammar Schools to 1660*, 319-321; *Report of Commissioner of Education for 1902*, i., 486-490.

²³ Printed in 1500 edition of *Adagia*.

29, 1514. This is generally used as his title in the correspondence given by Brewer. Accordingly, after he had been sent back from France, and while the young widow still in France wavered between the proposals of Francis I and the Duke of Suffolk, she did not forget her faithful tutor. In her letter of the thirteenth of November, 1514, she stated that she wanted Palsgrave to stay with her and teach; she did not want to have him discharged from her service and now desired to do something for him, but "her fortune is not yet made." On the third of April, 1515, she wrote from Paris to the all-powerful Wolsey, urging that Palsgrave be given some church position; she suggests a living in the diocese of Durham or the archdeaconry of Derby. Probably because of her request Palsgrave's fortune soon rose; he was made chaplain in ordinary to Henry VIII; received, in 1516, a rich benefice in Leicestershire from the bishop of Lincoln, who forced the executors of the former incumbent in 1523 to pay Palsgrave £68 for dilapidation; of which, however, Palsgrave complained to Wolsey he had received only £23, 6s., 8d. He was granted two rectories in Suffolk and one in Norfolk, from which he received a comfortable living. Meanwhile he continued to teach French to the young noblemen of the court. By 1517 he was moving in the most learned circles in England, the friend of More and Erasmus. Early in that year More wrote from London to Erasmus that Palsgrave was leaving for Louvain to study law, at the same time continuing his Greek and Latin. He carried with him an introduction to Erasmus from More, and also some letters for Erasmus from Basle, which More had been unable to forward earlier. On July 17 Erasmus replied from Louvain to Tunstal, a friend of More's, that Palsgrave had started back to England. On December 15 More, apparently not having heard directly from Erasmus, wrote to inquire whether Palsgrave had delivered his letters to Erasmus. In 1523 Palsgrave engaged Richard Pynson, the king's printer, to print sixty reams of paper for him at 6s., 8d. a ream; what the title of the book was we cannot be sure, though it has been supposed to be one of his three undated Latin works, of which no copies are extant, and whose titles are: *Annotationes verborum*, *Annotationes participiorum*, and *Epistolae ad diversos*. It is more probable that this contract was for the publication of Palsgrave's famous *French Grammar*, which he had doubtless been working on for some years, as he taught that tongue

to the youth of the court. The Grammar was not completed until 1530, but it is evident that Pynson printed at least the first part at an earlier date. The stipulations in this contract that six copies are to be given to the King, that none are to be sold without Palsgrave's permission and that Palsgrave expects a privilege (copyright), indicate that the *French Grammar* is referred to, as all of these arrangements were carried out when it appeared. Furthermore the contract of 1523 is listed in Henry VIII's papers next to the contract with Pynson for *L' Eclaircisement de la lunge Francoys*. There is also a second contract, dated Jan. 15, 1524, written by Cromwell, with corrections by Palsgrave, giving the same arrangements as the 1523 contract, and actually referring to the *French Grammar* by title; 750 copies are to be printed, Pynson is to have none that he does not pay for though he may have them at a reduced price; Pynson is to print a sheet each day on both sides and Palsgrave agrees to deliver corrected copy as fast as needed.

Another court appointment now interrupted his authorship, and Palsgrave was sent, in August 1525, as French and Latin tutor to Henry Fitzroy, the Duke of Richmond, natural son of Henry VIII. This commission, like his earlier royal one, called him away from London and his friends; this time to English lands in the north, beyond the Trent, near Scotland. The King showed special affection for the six year old boy, and a much larger retinue was provided for him than for the legitimate successor to the throne, Henry's daughter Mary. The young Duke was already Lord High Admiral of England, and enjoyed an income of at least a quarter of a million dollars annually. For his education, which had already been begun by Sir Thomas More, the King selected Richard Croke, the famous Greek scholar, and Palsgrave. The latter's position seems to have been a flattering one, with three servants and an annual stipend of £13, 6s., 8d. The court gathered around the youthful lieutenant-governor at Sheriff Hutton, and enrolled "Palgrave, Scolmastere" as one of the "Counselores." Palsgrave was a member of the Council of the North which reported to Wolsey as to the Duke's health and progress, and such intimate problems as the New Year's gifts which the Duke should present. In Brewer's *Collection* Palsgrave's signature appears on at least six letters to Wolsey, orders of the Council, and other such official documents. The young pupil seems to have shown scholarly ability; at any rate his tutor's letters to his father, the King, and his

mother, then Lady Elizabeth Talboys, abound in his praises. Palsgrave wrote the Duke's mother of her son's especial "gifts of grace," and expresses the hope that those who surround him will not too greatly detract him from his education. "Madam," he wrote in 1529, "to be plain with you, on my conscience, my Lord of Richmond is of as good a nature, as much inclined to all manner of virtuous and honorable inclinations as any babes living. Now is my room undoubted great about him, for the King's grace said unto me, in the presence of Master Parre and Master Page: 'I deliver,' quoth he, 'unto you three, my worldly jewel; you twain to have the guiding of his body, and thou Palsgrave, to bring him up in virtue and learning.'" (William Parr was the Duke's Chamberlain; Richard Page, his Vice Chamberlain.) The same year Palsgrave wrote to the King in much the same tone of praise; he promises "that according to (my) saying to you in the gallery at Hampton Court, I do my uttermost best to cause him to love learning and to be merry at it, insomuch that without any manner fear or compulsion he hath already a great furtherance in the principles grammatical both of Greek and Latin." Palsgrave seems at that time to have been in entire charge of the Duke's education, which had progressed particularly in Latin, including Virgil, Quintillian and Erasmus. However the youth's poor Latin instruction before coming into Palsgrave's hands makes him pronounce poorly, even almost lisping, but this the tutor hopes will stop when his second set of teeth appear! An interesting suggestion of Commenius' *Orbis Pictus* is found here in 1529; for Palsgrave was an educator far ahead of his age. He urges the King to attach a painter to the Duke's court, and suggests the best means of finding a suitable one, in order that his young pupil may learn to "know the nature of things by their pictures;" indeed the absence of such a painter "causeth both him and me to stay." A letter to More the same year asks his opinion, and that of Rightwise, famous as a Latin dramatist, as to the wisdom of teaching Greek to the young Prince, whose "wit" is again praised. The sports and toys of the Court, Palsgrave fears, detract him greatly, and More is asked to urge upon the King continued emphasis upon his son's education. The strong opposition to study is an interesting side light upon the education of the day, when many "would in no wise he should be learned," and strove "to bring his mind from learning," saying "that learning is a great hindrance to and displeasure to a nobleman." Croke, the other tutor, who left the Prince's service in 1528,

had had similar cause to bewail the attitude of the courtiers in helping the Prince to neglect his studies, and to defy his tutor. Palsgrave sends greetings to More's daughters, and regrets that he was not present to hear them "dispute in philosophy afore the King's grace."

Although his income from his church positions, and as tutor to the Prince, must have been considerable, he seems always to be bewailing his poverty, and is usually deep in debt, although he appears to have had only himself and his mother to support. Cromwell's papers include at least four statements of Palsgrave's debts to him; one is for £7, 6s., 8d. for Cromwell's procuring a papal bull for the union of the parish church of Alderton, Norwich, to the prebend of Portpoole, St. Paul's, which Palsgrave still held. To More he bewails "this horrible monster, poverty," which is such an accustomed visitor to Palsgrave that he is "ashamed;" he is more bound to More than to any man, and now hesitates to come to him "with empty hand." In this same year he wrote Mary, Queen dowager of France, that he had hoped to have his salary raised, so that he might live suitably, and that he still relied on her aid. During 1528, he tells her, six legal attacks had been made against his honesty, and half his resources were spent in his own defense; now he is broken-hearted, poor, and has a "sore tertian fever." Whether this appeal was unsuccessful is not known; at least it was soon repeated, when Sir William Stevynson was asked to urge again the tutor's cause upon Queen Mary and her husband, the Duke of Suffolk. The tutor sums up his worldly possessions under eight heads; his income would seem to be about £110, with debts of £92; Stevynson was instructed to borrow, if possible, £30 from Suffolk, and if this failed, Palsgrave threatened to resign and come home (although this item is carefully crossed out!); some changes must be made in his benefices, so Stevynson is to entreat Cardinal Wolsey for a letter, and if possible, collect £20 from them, which he is to pay Palsgrave's mother in London at Easter; above all, he is to strive to have the Queen gain for him the benefice of "Kanstun, in Norfolk."

The *French Grammar* upon which he had been at work for some years, and which had probably been in press off and on since 1524, finally appeared in 1530. Of the three contracts with Pynson the fullest refers to the work as "containing three sundry books, wherein is showed how the said tongue (Francoys) should be pronounced in reading and speaking, and also such grammatical rules as concern the

perfection of the said tongue; with¹ two vocabulists, one beginning with English nouns and verbs expounded in French, and a general vocabulist containing all the words of the French tongue expounded in English." Whether the delay in publication was due to Palsgrave's poverty, or failure to provide copy, or some trouble with Pynson, we do not know. It is certain, however, that Pynson printed only the first two parts, two sheets and a half, fifty-nine leaves. The third part, or book, is separately numbered. The final printer was John Haykys, from whose press it was issued July 18, 1530. No other book is known to have come from this printer's hands. Dibdin, in his *Typographical Antiquities*, Vol. II, does not include the *L'escharcissement de la Langue Francoyse* in his extensive list of Pynson's works. There is, however, conclusive proof, to the antiquarian at least, of Pynson's part in the work, from the presence of one of his "devices" between books one and two; Pynson is famous in typographical history for first introducing "devices," borders and figure-cuts. There are very few copies of the original edition extant; Baker knew of only two in 1764²⁴ and Lowndes²⁵ refers to seven, of which some are imperfect; the Bodleian contains an excellent copy; the British Museum, two, and the Mazarin Library, Paris, the only copy in France. The work was republished in 1852, by M. Genin, at Paris, Imprimerie National, in the French National Series entitled *Documents Inédits sur l' Histoire de France*.

Two interesting items are noted in connection with the contracts for publication. These contracts indicate that Pynson was to sell copies only upon Palsgrave's order; the book was not for popular sale. The reason for this was Palsgrave's desire to protect himself from other teachers; with only one text book in the field, it is natural that its author desired to keep it for the use of his pupils and his friends. Stephen Vaughan, of Antwerp, English envoy to the Netherlands, wrote Thomas Cromwell, asking him to get from Palsgrave a copy of the French book, as Vaughan desired to learn French, and had found that Pynson refused to sell copies except to those whom Palsgrave names, lest his profit as a teacher should be "minished." Vaughan would "esteem one of the books no less than a Jewel," and promises to send Cromwell a gift in return. If Cromwell cannot get another

²⁴ Baker, *Biographia Dramatica*, i., 325.

²⁵ Lowndes, *Bibliographical Manual*, vii., 1769.

copy, Vaughan makes bold to hope that he will send his personal copy, which Palsgrave gave him. The date of this letter, April 13, 1529, raises an interesting question, as the only known edition is dated over a year later; evidently some parts of the work at least, were published before this 1530 edition; possibly the third part, which Pynson did not print, appeared for the first time in 1530. In his contract Palsgrave also provided that Pynson should "suffer the saide John Palsgrave, or his assignes, to correct the proff or ever that he, for any hast, print the hoole nomber off any off the said leuys." Although Pynson was himself a Frenchman, the author thought it necessary to make this special provision in order that greater accuracy might be secured; printers in those days were usually the sole proof readers, and often their products were almost unrecognizable by the author.

The title page reads: "L'esclarcissement de la Langue Francoyse compose par maistre Jehan Palsgrave, Angloys natyf de Londres, et gradue de Paris. Neque, luna, per, noctem. M.G.P. Anno verbi incarnati, M.D.XXX." The page following contains a neat Latin poem by Leonard Cox, in praise of Palsgrave. The remainder of the book is in English. The "authours epistell to the Kinges Grace," to whom the book is dedicated, occupies nine pages, and narrates the study he had put upon the topic; his presentation of his "two books," (probably the first two sections of this work, not a separate book), to the King's sister Mary, and her husband, Duke of Suffolk, who urged that the honor of dedication be given to the King himself; his investigation of earlier grammars, notably the Greek grammar of Theodore Gaza; and his addition of a third book, in order that he might succeed in his desire "to mary our tongue and the french togider." References, somewhat derogatory, are made to the works upon the same subject by Barclay, Dewes, Vallensys and Troy. This dedication is followed by the King's "special privilege" granted at Ampthill, September 2, 1530, praising Palsgrave for his endeavor, his success with Queen Mary, for printing the book at his own "great costes," and forbidding any reprint in whole or part for seven years.

An interesting letter is also included in this introduction; it is from "Andrewe Boynton, to the Ryght Noble and excellent young gentlemen, my lord Thomas Hawarde, my lorde Geralde, and maister Charles Blont, sonne and heyre to the Lorde Montjoye, his late scole felowes." This letter, written by one of Palsgrave's pupils to three others, who were probably more powerful at court and more able to

aid "our maister," praises the *French Grammar*, refers to many things in it which will remind these gentlemen of Palsgrave and his teaching, and includes this interesting passage: "After he had in commandement by our most redoubted soveraygne, to instruct the duke of Richemontes grace, in the latin tongue, he brought all the hole *Analogie of the Romane speche*, into IX letters, that is to say, theye fyve vowells and M, N, R, S, consonantes, whiche thyng was never as yet, of no clerke that he wotteth of afore his tyme observed." Of this work on Latin we know no more, neither of the book of *French Proverbs*, promised by Palsgrave in the *French Grammar*.

Palsgrave attempts at great length to give the rules for French grammar and pronunciation, and includes an extensive vocabulary. This was the first French grammar in any language. The author outlines the first two books in his "brieve introduction," stating that the first will deal with pronunciation, such as "sounding of thyr vowelles, diphthonges, consonantes, theyre trewe accent" and so on. "Boke Second" is devoted to the nine parts of speech; for some unexplained reason, six pages are lacking in the numbering between the books, although the work seems complete. The third book, nine times as long as the first two, is probably the part added in the Haykys edition of 1530; it is an enlargement of the second book, with a dictionary of illustrative words and phrases, forming practically a complete grammar of the French language. Numerous French authors of note, including Guillaume de Lorris, Jean le Maire, Lemaire de Belges, Alain Chartier and Octavien de St. Gelais, are quoted. Each of the three books ends with an appeal to the student and a promise of ability to speak French if he will be faithful in his use of the book; the last page commends the work to the use of rich and poor alike, and states that it "is very necessarye for all suche as intende to learne to speke trewe frenche."

This work, which must have been of great importance in the study of French when it appeared,²⁶ now claims recognition because of its record of early French pronunciation, and of obsolete English and French words and phrases. As such it has received considerable study.²⁷

We do not know exactly when Palsgrave left the Duke of Richmond in the North and returned to London. Probably he accom-

²⁶ Elyot refers in his *Gouvernor* to its popularity.

²⁷ Lütgenau, *Jean Palsgrave und seine aussprache des Franziosischen*.

panied the Duke in August, 1529, when the latter was summoned to take his place in the House of Lords. Late in 1529 Palsgrave wrote a lengthy summary of Henry VIII's reign, possibly hoping that its laudatory tone would win him further preferment. His troubles, however, continued; witness Gregory Chekyng's letter to Cromwell protesting against Palsgrave's methods of instruction with his son. In 1531 he moved to Oxford, still desiring to continue his studies. In the *Register* he is enrolled as supplicating for admission to the Master's degree, and also as Bachelor of Divinity, in February, 1532; incorporated as M.A., June 19, and received his B.D., June 27, of the same year; the final disputations came in April and May, 1533. He wrote the father of one of his pupils on October 28, 1532, praising the young man's work, as usual, and urging that he be allowed to continue his studies under him, because the boy is "such an inheritor," and that a suggested visit to the boy's home be given up. He announces that he intends to move by February from London, where he was then teaching, to Blackfriars, Cambridge, whither he hopes the boy, and his three other pupils (one a younger brother of Andrew Boynton²⁸), will accompany him. His reasons for going to Cambridge were: "1. I am already B.D. and hope to be D.D. 2. I could get a man to help me in teaching, as the constant attendance hurts my health. And I go to Cambridge rather than Oxford; because I have a benefice 16 miles off." As there are no records of his entrance at Cambridge, we are in doubt as to what happened; probably he remained in London, simply going to Oxford in the spring to go through the final formalities of the B.D. degree. In the fall of 1533, October 3, Archbishop Crumer granted him the benefice at St. Dunstan-in-the-East, London, and on the eighteenth of that month dunned Palsgrave energetically for the money due him, now "far behind hand." The next April the poor teacher is still deep in debt; he writes Cromwell about the chances of getting another benefice immediately. For nearly ten years we have no official record regarding him, save a letter, written doubtless for a parishioner, July 24, 1538, to a priest in Amiens regarding an orphan there. Palsgrave was one of the signers of the famous document at Westminster, July 9, 1540, "the judgment of the united convocations of both provinces declaring null the marriage of Henry VIII to Anne of Cleves." On November 7, 1545, he received the rectory of Waden-

²⁸ Pg. 99

hoe, Northamptonshire, to which the Crown added more lands on December 6, 1546. He resided here until his death, which took place before August 3, 1554, on which date a successor was appointed; on September 12 his prebend at Portpoole, St. Paul's, was filled "per mortem Joh. Palsgrave."

Our only personal evaluation of Palsgrave's character and abilities comes from Pits who refers to him as one to whom nature had liberally given her gifts, "a man of genius, unshakable memory, easy speech, modesty and moderation of spirit, worthy of eulogies, distinguished by gravity, prudence and marvellous affability, appreciated by all persons of distinction."

Palsgrave lived an eventful life of about seventy years; he was twice a royal tutor, enjoyed the friendship of statesmen like Wolsey, Cromwell and Cramner, scholars such as More and Erasmus, twice received royal privileges for his books, wrote what is probably the first full French grammar; yet, as Baker and others point out, his chief fame rests upon his translation of the *Acolastus*, 1540. The importance of this version of the play has already been suggested, and mention has been made of its contribution to the Elizabethan drama. Its greater interest lies in the light that it throws upon school methods of the day. Baker refers to it as "a translation, for the use of children." From the reference in the letter of Andrew Boynton²⁹ and the references to Palsgrave's success in Latin with the young Richmond, we can realize that he was perhaps fully as capable a teacher of Latin as of French. As will be noted in his introduction, he heartily commends Henry VIII's recent act (1540) by which Lyly's *Grammar* was made the official and exclusive Latin grammar of England. He justifies this edition of the *Acolastus* from the lack of Latin books for the young student to read and upon which he may apply his newly acquired grammar rules. He denounces the poor Latin teachers, as he had the inefficient French tutors; he believes in learning grammar by reading; in making the rules simple and plain; in both intensive and extensive study; in translation into English, which develops one's power in both languages. Like his *French Grammar* he hopes that this book will bring "an established marriage between the two tongues," and also, as before, he promises that its use will save much time and labor. Cromwell, to whom Palsgrave proposed to dedicate

²⁹ Pg. 99

it, urged that it be dedicated to the King, as was the work of 1530. Palsgrave's translation is verbose, to say the least; three lines of Latin sometimes receive five sentences in English. He discusses the metre, the style of the drama and points out all figures of speech, or passages particularly "elegans."⁸⁰ He justifies such an English translation of a Latin work (few such appeared before his, many such afterwards) on the ground that it gives pupils practice for their rules of grammar, develops their English speech, and aids poor teachers. He says *Acolastus* is the best play he could find to translate. Of the original very few copies are known; there is one in the Bodleian and two, one imperfect, in the British Museum. Baker knew of only two copies,⁸¹ and Lowndes⁸² refers to five, four appearing at sales between 1831 and 1844.

The last reference which we have to Palsgrave has recently been discovered by Mr. H. R. Plomer in *Repertory of Twelve of the Records of the City of London*. On November 26, 1550, occurs this statement: "It is agreed that Mr. Wylforde & Mr. Garrard aldermen shall peruse Mr. Palsgrave's book here exhibited this day concerning the teaching of laten & frenche, and make report here how they do like it. And also take order with him for the payment of those £6 13 4 that the Court did here agree this day to lend him."⁸³ We do not know what book is here referred to; doubtless the manuscript of a book he planned to publish, probably combining the teaching methods suggested in the *Esclarissement*, twenty years before, and *Acolastus*, ten years before. It is evident that his old enemy, poverty, still pursued him; the City Council's generosity was doubtless very welcome in the fight.

We seem justified in showing two definite examples of the contributions of this translation to English literature. Herford calls it "the first definite sign of the new influence,"⁸⁴ of a Latin drama adapted to the needs of the scholars. George Gascoigne's *Glasse of Government*,

⁸⁰ For the Latin of the play see: *Lateinische Literaturdenkmäler des XV. and XVI. Jahrhunderts*. Herausgeben von Max Herrmann und Siegfried Szamatolski, i. Gulielmus Gnapheus Acolastus Herausgeben von Johannes Bolte, Berlin, 1891.

⁸¹ Baker, *Biographia Dramatica*, i., 324.

⁸² Lowndes, *Bibliographical Manual*, ii., 849.

⁸³ *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, vi., 25.

⁸⁴ *Literary Relations of England and Germany*, 109, 155-164.

written, says Arber, by 1565, "stands absolutely alone in the English dramatic literature of the century."⁸⁵ This play undoubtedly has a didactic aim, possesses ethical contrasts, and chiefly uses scenes of school or tavern life. The plot is that of four Prodigal Sons, with the usual counselors, parasites, and meretrix; the two older sons reap rewards by public flogging and execution, while the younger ones, repentant, become, respectively, a minister at Geneva, and a secretary to the Palsgrave. It seems clear to Herford and to us that Gascoigne gained his material from the Prodigal Son dramas, and their offshoot, the Dramas of Student Life, referred to previously in this study. Possibly Gascoigne became acquainted with these dramas on his visit to Holland, 1572-3, although if Arber's date of the actual composition of *The Glasse of Government* (first published 1575), is correct, it is more likely that the medium was Palsgrave's school book, which Gascoigne may have labored over as a boy. If so, he made better use of the material in his school books than do most modern students.

The striking similarity between Lyly's *Euphues* and Gnapheus' *Acolastus* occurred to the writer even before reading the article by John Dones Wilson,⁸⁶ in which he suggests that the Holland school-master through his English translator quite probably furnished the material and plot for our first English novel. The story is that of an intellectual Prodigal, Euphues, who falls upon evil days and over-loving companions in Naples; his love affair there finally makes of him a new man, sending him back to his life of study, and away from his faithless Lucilla, alas, a harlot. The drama form is more evident than that of the novel; the work is simply a series of incidents, sharply separated, in which the characters often speak before the author tells us their names: the author missed the *dramatis personæ* heading of each scene in a play. Lyly himself admitted that his work was "compiled." That the source was quite possibly *Acolastus* is suggested from the borrowing of the names Eubulus and Philautus, who serve, in both productions, similar purposes. Lais, of Gnapheus, becomes Lyly's Lucilla, with "Lilly cheeks dyed with Vermillion red," and her ever-present, tempting cards. Euphues' prodigality is hinted at in reference to his early history; he does "leave Athens the nourse of wisdom, to inhabite Naples the nouresher of wantonnesse;" he be-

⁸⁵ Introduction, Hazlitt's edition of Gascoigne.

⁸⁶ *The Library*, x., 337-361.

comes an "intellectualized prodigal." Surely Lyly owes a debt to some of the Prodigal Son dramas, of which *Acolastus* is the most likely source. Whether he took part in the production of it in Latin during his college days, or first became acquainted with it in its school book form, is uncertain. It is at least possible that one of the most significant Elizabethan dramas and the so-called "first English novel" owe their origin to Palsgrave's school translation of *Acolastus*.

APPENDIX

PALSGRAVES INTRODUCTION TO ACOLASTUS

IOANNIS PALS.

GRAVI LONDONIENSIS,

ECPHRASIS ANGLICA IN CO.

MOEDIAM ACOLASTI.

The Comedy of Acolastus translated into our English tongue, after such manner as children are taught in the grammar school, first word for word, as the Latin lieth, and afterward according to the sense and meaning of the latin sentences: by showing what they do value and countervalue in our tongue, with admition set forth in the margin, as often as any such phrase, that is to say, kind of speaking used of the latins, which we use not in our tongue, but by other words, expressed the said latin manners of speaking, and also adages, metaphors, sentences, or other figures poetical or rhetorical do require, for the more perfect instructing of the learners, and to lend them more easily to see how the exposition goeth. And before the second scene of the first act, is a brief introduction to some general knowledge of the diverse sorts of meters used by our author in this comedy. And before Acolastus's ballad is shown what kinds of meters his ballad is made of. And before the sixth scene of the fourth act, is an explanation of the Rhetorical composition used in that scene, and certain other after it ensuing.

INTERPRETED BY JOHN PALSGRAVE.

ANNO. M.D. XL.

THE EPISTLE TO THE KING'S HIGHNESS.

TO THE MOST EXCELLENT PRINCE AND OUR MOST REDOUBTED SOVEREIGN
LORD, HENRY VIII.

By the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and supreme head in earth immediately under Christ, of the Church of England, his most humble and obedient Chaplain, John Palsgrave, Bachelor of Divinity, desireth perfect felicity and prosperous success in all his noble affairs.

When I consider with myself, most high and most redoubted Prince, and to me of all your humble subjects most benign and gracious sovereign lord, among others the great and weighty affairs which lie under the moderation of your royal Scepter, how highly your grace doth tender the well bringing up of your youth, in good letters, in so much, that whereas it is clearly perceived, by your most prudent wisdom, how great a damage it has heretofore been, and yet is, unto the tender wits of this your noble realm to be hindered and confounded with so many diverse and sundry sources of precepts grammatical; you have for the redress thereof, willed one uniform manner of teaching of all those Grammatical rules, to be used throughout all your highness's dominion, and have committed the disposing of that matter unto such singular personages, both of exact judgment, and also of excellent literary ability, that I for my part do not a little rejoice therefore, and earnestly do I wish, that I at these present days (which in that exercise have dissipated no small time of my life) had observed but some one valuable document to bring to this Gazophilacium, something to help to the furtherances of this your noble grace's so goodly, and therefore so godly and fruitful a purpose. Whereupon as it fortunateth that among the loving and well wishing subjects, when they hear of any gracious and beneficial purpose, by their sovereign lord intended, whereby his commonwealth might perceive so great a furtherance and advancement, (specially tending to any such effect as they themselves have been most exercised withall). I thereupon took occasion thus to reason and debate with myself. Now that the great variety used before time in the teachings of the grammatical rules of the latin tongue in this realm, whereby hitherto no final hinderance hath ensued, shall hereafter utterly cease and be put to silence. Whereby undoubtedly there shall ensue a great commodity and furtherance, both to the masters, and also the young beginners, which shall hereafter succeed. For now is it intended, that every school of your grace's realm, should begin to become one similar school as far as those said principles do belong. But as yet unto my poor judgment (seeming to be a thing very much required) for the more effectual and speedy furtherance of your grace's said youth, I wish, that unto this much expedient reformation of your school masters unstayed liberty, which hitherto has taught such grammar, and of the same so diverse and sundry source, as to everyone of them seemed best (and was to their fantasies most approved); might therefore also follow and perceive one steady and uniform manner of interpreta-

tion of the latin authors into our tongue, after the latin principles were by your grace's youth once surely conned and perceived. Upon the want and lack thereof, besides the great and evident inconvenience (of which the effect is too much in every place espied) that is to say, the plainly apparent ignorance and want of the required sufficiency of many, which in private places take upon themselves to teach, before they be themselves masters, to whom the best grammatical rules, that ever were or could be devised, cannot be sufficient; I have by experience learned, that there are diverse other occasions rising in the school masters practice, whereby your grace's youth is not a little hindered. For some instructors of your highnesses youth for want of a perfect judgment in this behalf so much desire to seem affectedly curious, that having no due consideration to the tender wits, which they take unto their charge to teach, in the stead of pure English words and phrases, they declare to their children one latin word by another, and confound the phrases of the tongues. And thus they not a little hinder their young scholars, although they would seem for their own part to have a knowledge and erudition above the common sort. And some others there be, which having undoubtedly learning enough, valuable and sufficient, yet while they by sundry ways and manners of speaking used in our tongue labor to express such latin authors' minds as they do take upon them for the time to interpret, and to seem therein more diligent than the common sort, do spend in such manner the whole forenoons and afternoons, in the declaring of a few lines of such latin authors as they for that season have in hand (for to confess the very truth, the school masters whole diligence tendeth chiefly to this effect and purpose); thus they do by that means not only very little furtherance for their young audience, but also by that ways do oppress and over lay the tender wits, the which they would so fain further, with their multitude of sundry interpretations, confusedly by them uttered. So that finally their young scholars, to help their memory, are forced to gloss, or rather to blot in their latin books, and as their childish judgment doeth for the time serve them, of diverse words in our tongue being synonyms, or of diverse interpretation used by their master, they choose most commonly the very worst, and with these scribble the books of their latin authors. And some other furthermore there are, which though they have by their great study at your grace's Universities, so much profited in the Latin tongue, that to show an evident trial of their learning, they can write an Epistle very latin like, and also speak latin, as the time shall afford occasion very well, yes, and have also by their diligence attained to a comely manner of making verses; yet, for all this, partly because of the rude language used in their native countries, where they were born and first learned (as it happened) their grammar rules, and partly because that coming straight from these, unto some of your grace's universities, they have not had occasion to become conversant with such places of your realm, where the purest English is spoken, accordingly they are not able to express their concept in their vulgar tongue, which is not sufficient to perfectly open the diversity of phrases between our tongue and the latin (which in my poor judgment is the very chief thing that the school master should travail in). Accordingly for want of this sufficient perfection in our own tongue, I have known diverse of

them, which have still continued their study in your grace's universities, that after a substantial increase of good learning, by their great and industrious study obtained, yet when they have been called to do any service in your grace's commonwealth, either to preach in open audience, or have other administration, requiring their assiduous conversing with your subjects, they have then been forced to read over our english authors, and by that means to provide a remedy for their evident imperfection in that behalf. And when it hath happened to any such for their good name and estimation to be called from your universities to instruct any of your grace's noblemen's children, then evidently hath appeared their imperfection in that case to be notable, and that to no small detriment and hinderance of such as they have taken charge to instruct and bring forward. Being therefore, for my part, desirous, that these inconveniences might also be provided for, and therefore taking occasion, more attentively to bethink me upon this matter, then began the great difficulty of the well achieving thereof the more plainly to appear unto me, not only because the like thing hath not yet hitherto (that ever I could know of) been thoroughly attempted of any clerk within this your grace's noble realm, but also forasmuch, as that a translation into the mother tongue, of any latin authors, hath never hitherto (so far as I can yet perceive) been assayed in any other region of Europe; except perchance as some such as the latter, have for their own ease and the more brief and speedy furtherance of their scholars, used such kind of interpretation in their own tongue upon some excellent latin author, which they would never suffer to past the bounds of their private houses. The not attempting of which kind of interpretation in other regions, hath not proceeded of any notable perfection or furtherance, which the other regions have in their languages, over and beyond your noble grace's subjects. For how much the french tongue is different from the pure latin, may appear by a book of late years made by Robertus Stephanus, which he entitled, *De corrupte sermonis emendatione*. And how much the Spanish be with this same imperfection attached, may appear by the testimony of Nebysensis, which with many words doth lament the notable corruption of the latin tongue among his countrymen, and earnestly doth exort them to be more diligent in the observance of the perfect and approved latin authors. And as for the Germans notwithstanding the great excellency that they now of these days are come unto, yet is there no doubt, but that there is no volgar phrase used within the bounds of Europe, that more swerveth from the exact latin, than this doth. So when I consider, by how earnest manner Bebelius called upon the Germans, to leave their own phrase, (speech), and to take themselves to the assiduous reading and observing of the good latin authors, the which was but a little before Rheuclyn's days, and how prosperously the thing hath since that time among them succeeded, I take, that Bebelius was in manner to the Germans, as was Laurence Valla unto the Italians, by whose first exortation and setting on, so many excellent writers have risen within the Italians within the time of memory. Being therefore in this behalf not a little perplexed, whether I might be so bold to assay how this thing might take effect, if it should fortune by me be attempted, I had resort unto your noble grace's high counselor, and ever my singular good lord, the

lord pirvy seal, unto whom as the time and place did serve me, I declared my pure desire, and with right humble instance besought him, that I might (to make a trial of this my purpose) dedicate some latin author interpreted after this manner, which I have here described, to his lordship, not only to make a proofand experience of the thing, which I so much minded, but also to be a testimony, and a recognizing on my part towards his lordship, of the manifold and singular humanity shown unto me, and that of no small continuance of years. But his lordship willed me expressly, thereto adding both a right wish and also honest consideration, to dedicate my poor labors unto your noble grace, my most dread and redoubted sovereignlord, whereby my great solicitude and care is now much more redoubled, than ever it was before, less I should in any manner cause offense where I would fainest that my tender zeal should, according as I do mean, most evidently and fruitfully appear. Howbeit, calling in this behalf good hope unto me, for the manifold experiences that I have had, in the great clemency and benignity, which I have ever found in your noble grace, I have chosen for my latin author, to be Ecphrastes upon, the comedy entitled Acolastus, not only because I esteem that little volume to be a very curious and artifiically compacted nosegay, gathered out of the most excellent and odoriferous sweet smelling garden of the most pure latin authors, but also because the author thereof (as far as I can learn) is yet living, thereby I would be glad to move unto the hearts of your grace's clerks, of which your realm was never better stored, some little grain of honest and virtuous enty, which on my part to confess the very truth unto your grace, hath continually in all the time of these my poor labors, accompanied me, and stirred me onward to achieve this manner, in this wise by me attempted. For this have I thought to myself shall Fullonius an Hollander born, thus many hundred years after the decay of the latin tongue by the Goths, Vandals, and Longobardes, III most barborous nations utterly corrupted, through the diligent observation of the pure latin authors, be able to make so fine and so exact a piece of work. and I shall not be able at these years of mine age, to do so much, as to declare what he meaneth in my native tongue? Seeing that he (regarding his country) can challenge no more right to the latin tongue, than I can, saving that through his great and industrious labor, he hath, mastered the latinity, and so forced it to serve him, as to set forth to all clerks his intent and purpose. Thus do I, my most redoubted lord, speak to your grace, whose pure and clear judgment I wought most highly to fear, as though I were fully persuaded to myself, that I have not wholly disspent my labors in vain. But in very deed I shall think myself not only very well sufficed, but also most fortunate, if this mine enterprise, or at the least, first attempt, may give occasion unto other of your grace's well learned clerks to fall in hand with such of the latin authors as in the judgment of all men be most excellent, and to this purpose most necessary and expedient. So that by their diligent labors, may be made such an established marriage, between the two tongues, as may be unto such of your grace's subjects, as shall succeed hereafter, not only steady, agreed upon, and permanent, but also an incredible furtherance, to attain the pure latinity by. So that though I have not obtained to the thing, which I have desired, yet I do humbly wish of god, that mine ignorance and

imperfection should be no hinderance, so that the thing itself should not go forward, and have its prosperous effect. For however Minerva hath assisted and aided me to my journey's end, yet still to persist in the opening unto your noble grace of my poor and simple judgment in this behalf, I suppose verily that among diverse other profits and advancements of your grace's subjects towards good learning, there should ensue great and much valuable commodities from this thing. First, for if this kind of interpretation may take effect, and be put in execution, not only the speech of your grace's subjects should by that means have a great advantage to wax uniform, throughout all your grace's dominions, but also the English tongue, which under your grace's prosperous reign is come to the highest perfection that ever hitherto it was, should by this occasion remain more steady and permanent in his endurance, not only by the well keeping of his perfection obtained, but also have a great occasion to come to his most highest estate, and there, by that means long to be perserved. Second, for after this, there should never be no utterly bad school masters within your grace's realm. For if such as would take upon them that office, were not better in their english interpretation, yet the very same would drive them, so that they should not be worse, unless they would stand in danger to be reproved of their own scholars, which they were but young babes, yet might their parents easily control them, which might well enough perceive, when they did notably amiss. Thirdly, for then should the willing scholars, which had already gotten their grammatical principles, be so evidently encouraged to go forward, that they should be great prods unto their fellows, which by their negligence drag, besides the masters themselves would have no small provocation, to use for their own part a good diligence, lest their scholars of their own minds should call for more of their author to be declared unto them, then perchance the masters had prepared to read unto them before; Whereas now the scholars, be they never so willing to be furthered, they have no manner of remedy, but have utterly and wholly to stay upon their masters mouth. Fourthly, for then should all such as be already depart from the grammar school and afterward be taken with a repentance of their youth negligently by them overpassed, which aforetime were forced to despair, though their wills afterwards waxed never so good, now by this means easily recover themselves again. Fifthly, for then should young scholars, with small pains, engros the whole argument of the latin authors in their memories, whereas heretofore, after they have read the latin author in the school, they have not perceived what matter they were treating with: Yes, and then their furtherance and speedy increase should be so notable, that with pleasure in manner and with banashing of all servil rudeness out of grammar school, they should ever be able perfectly to go, faster than they could before time be able to creep. Sixthly, for then the school master, and also the scholars, should by this means be eased in the manner of III parts of their pain; then should the masters have both time and better occasion, to open their further learning, and to show unto their scholars the great artifice used by the authors, in the composition of their works, which aforetime they have no such opportunity to do. But what mean I, my most redoubted sovereign lord, which knowing the inestimable clearness of your grace's judgment,

seem here to be thus far abused, as to be about to show light unto the brightest shining sun? I do therefore clearly and utterly submit myself, and these my poor labors, unto your noble grace's disposition and order, valuing them no more, nor none otherwise, but as by your noble grace they shall be approved; only thus finishing my simple epistle, that it is and shall be to my last day amongst the chiefest desires and wishes of almighty god, that I may receive of him the grace and possibility to do the thing, that may be acceptable to your noble grace, whose facility and prosperous success in all your noble affairs, I beseech almighty god, to maintain and increase, and with increasings, long to continue.

INDEX

A

Adages, 8
 Admission Charges, 65
 Apollo Shroving, 14
 Ascham, 32, 33
 Ashton, 27
 **Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, 77
Ascham, R., 41

B

Bacon, 12, 33
 Bale, 27-28, 43
 Biblical Plays, 62, 71
 Bidermann, 75
 Boy Bishop, 25, 29
 Boy Companies, 28-30, 46
 Brinsley, 34
 Buchanan, 11, 33, 43
Bächtold, E. F., 89
Bahlmann, L. D., 82
Baker, D. E., 93
Baker-Penoyre, J., 9
Bale, J., 28
Barnard, H., 34, 57
Baumgartner, A., 68
Baynes, T. S., 92
Beloe, W., 93
Biographisch Woordenboek, 77
Boarse, C. W., 45
Bond, R. W., 31
Brandl, A., 39
Brewer, E. C., 92
Bridgett, T. E., 44
Brinsley, J., 34

C

Cheke, 33
 Choir Boys, 20, 27-30
 Choir Masters, 29, 30
 Churchyard, 26
 Classic Influence, 37
 Colet, 23
 Colloquy, 13
 Comenius, 14
 Cromwell, 12
Cambridge History of English Literature, 8
Camden Miscellany, 93
Carlisle, N., 18
Catholic World, 68
Chambers, E. K., 8
Cheke, H., 33
Churchyard, T., 26
Churton, R., 29
Collier, J. P., 29
Collins, W. L., 24
Comenius, J. A., 15
Cooper, C. H., 44
Corcoran, T., 71
Corpus Reformatorum, 57
Creizenach, W., 49
Cunliffe, J. W., 38
Cust, L., 24
Cyclopedia of Education, 7

D

DeWette, W. M. L., 57
Dictionary of National Biography, 85

*Words in italics are authors of works referred to in this study; the note on the page indicated gives the complete title.

Duhr, B., 68

E

Elizabeth, 19, 20, 43

Elyot, 33

Eton Play, 24-26

Encyclopedia Britannica, 85

F

France, 11

Fischer, K., 55

Fisher, G. W., 26

Fleay, F. G., 19

Flügel, E., 44

Foppeus, J. F., 77

Forshall, F. H., 19

Förstemann, K. E., 57

Francke, K., 39

Freundgen, J., 38

Froude, J. A., 18

G

Gager, 45

German Ordinances, 49-54

Greeks, 7

Gardiner, R. B., 44

Geiger, L., 38

Goedeke, K., 38

Gottsched, J. C., 38

Graves, F. P., 15

Greene, R., 41

Grimald, N., 43

Grimm, J., 38

H

Henno, 38

Hieronymians, 49

Hitchin, 27

Holland, 11

Hartknock, 'A. C., 77

Hazlitt, W., 32

Herford, C. H., 14

Holinshead, R., 40

Holstein, H., 47

Hoole, C., 41

Hutchinson, A. F., 18

I

Immorality, 54-56, 61, 63, 70

Ipswich, 18

Italy, 11

Irving, D., 43

J

Jephthes, 11

Jonson, 31, 32

Janssen, J., 49

Jundt, A., 37

K

Jusserand, J. J., 12

Kaemmel, O., 51

Klein, J. L., 40

Knottel, W. P. C., 11

Koch, C. G., 59

Krafft, K., 77

Kurz, H., 38

L

Latin, 9, 10, 36-37, 42

Leipsig, 51

Luther, 56

Lyly, 31, 45

Laurie, S. S., 15

Leach, A. F., 8, 29

Lee, S. L., 46

Library, The, 104

Lowdnes, W. T., 98

Lütgenau, F., 100

M

Magdeburg, 52

Melanchthon, 57

Merchant-Taylors', 23, 24

Milton, 34

More, 40

Mulcaster, 23, 24, 34

Maxwell-Lyte, H. C., 10

McDonnell, M. E. J., 22

Mertz, G., 49

Miller, F. J., 41

Minchin, J. G. C., 24

Monroe, P., 7

More, T., 40

Morley, H., 36

N

Neo-Latin Plays, 10, 61

Nowell, 19

Nichols, J., 43

Nisard, C., 92

P

Passion Plays, 63

Plato, 7

Platter, 66

Plautus, 21, 38-40, 49-51, 55

Polemic Drama, 76

Prodigal Son Dramas, 39, 46, 47, 64

Protestant Drama, 64

Pachtler, G. M., 68

Paulsen, F., 68

R

Radcliff, 27, 28, 43

Ralph Roister Doister, 25, 44

Reading School, 18

Religious Drama, 37

Reuchlin, 38

Rightwise, 23, 44

Raché, P. B., 11

Reinhardtstoettner, K., 49

Reusch, F. H., 87

Rochemonteix, E. de, 68

S

Sandwich School, 18

Schola Ludus, 14

Seneca, 40, 41

Shaw, 15

Shakespeare, 31

Song School, 28, 46

Southampton School, 18

Spectator, 15

Strassburg, 53-54, 60

St. Paul's, 22

Sturm, 59-60

Sargeaunt, J., 10

Schelling, F. E., 11, 46

Scherer, W., 36

Schmid, K. A., 59

Schmidt, P. E., 13, 14

Schotel, G. D. J., 11

Schwarz, B., 38

Schwickerath, R., 68

Scott, E. J. L., 20

Spengler, F., 47

Sterry, W., 24

Strong, A. A., 10

Strauss, F., 64

Symonds, J. A., 11

T

Terence, 21, 23, 38, 39, 49-51, 55

Textor, 11

Trinity, 19

Thorndike, A. H., 12

Tittmann, J., 90

Transactions, Biographical, 103

U

Udall, 12, 19, 25, 44

University Plays, 45

V

Vernacular, 69

von Eichendorff, J., 73*von Raumer, K.*, 54**W**

Westminster, 19, 21

Winchester, 22

Wimpheling, 37

Walch, J. G., 57*Ward, A. W.*, 8*Warton, T.*, 8*Watson, F.*, 10*Weller, E.*, 89*Wilkins, A. S.*, 8*Wilson, H. B.*, 24*Wood, A.*, 43

